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IT is difficult to follow the argument which would support a decision that the question of sailing in the danger zone is to be left to the discretion of individual ship owners. That is a risk that our government cannot afford to run. It cannot afford to assume that since Americans have a right to go our government has a duty to act only when the right has been invaded. That would be an empty legalistic way of meeting the issue. The essential fact is that an unusual condition exists on the sea. Germany has proclaimed it and the United States has answered by severance of diplomatic relations. From now on we can afford to take no chances with the judgment of submarine commanders or ship captains. Every vessel should be put under government orders, its course prescribed, and protection provided. There can be no private enterprise in the danger zone. The substance of the controversy is that Germany is trying to cut trans-Atlantic communications, and that the United States is committed to keeping them open. Human lives, supplies and shipping are too precious for any gambling on the chance that Germany will not do what she says she will do.

TIME appears to be the chief factor in Germany's calculation. From the beginning of the war the dominant idea of her strategy has been to strike for a swift decision, and avoid a war of attrition. That is what wrecked the negotiations in July, 1914. It is what led Germany through Belgium. It is what has made the submarine so fascinating to the German mind. A highly organized autocratic government which controls its own public opinion can act sharply, "get the jump" on lumbering democracies and inefficient empires. Speed can make up for inferior resources. Reasoning this way, the first theory was that France could be eliminated before Britain's strength could be accumulated. The present theory seems to be that Britain can be eliminated before America's strength can be made to count. But the Germans undoubtedly know that if they fail within the next few months they are utterly lost. In a war of attrition our resources would be decisive. Unless the Germans can succeed at once they must fail terribly. Germany has never been willing to face a prolonged siege because it can end only one way. Her superior technique is discounted if it cannot be used for a quick decision. The proclamation of unlimited submarine war means that Germany faces and cannot endure a war of resources. She strikes therefore violently at England, the backbone of the coalition.

IF Germany fails to bring England down suddenly, she will have raised up another England, will have more than doubled the power of her enemies, because America possesses exactly those resources which would be conclusive in a long war. We may take it as certain, therefore, that the Chancellor spoke the truth when he said Germany was now staking everything. This is indeed her last chance. It is the only weapon she has left, and it is a weapon which will make her or break her in a very few months. Her decision is the strongest possible evidence that Germany needs

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a quick peace. If she dared to face a long war it would be military madness to draw in the United States. Isn't it madness anyway? The answer to that question depends on the effectiveness of the submarine, and on that point no one is competent to speak. We may be certain of one thing, however. The more moderate elements in German politics have not yielded without considering the possibility of failure. Why then have they yielded?

THE Chancellor's speech in explanation was not the talk of a confident man. In style, in temper, in outlook, his speech was profoundly different from the note itself. The note was written by one of those gruff, red-blooded men of action who are so plentiful in Germany, though not unknown elsewhere. The Chancellor's speech was that of a wiser and sadder man whose hand had been forced, who knew the consequences. It was the least triumphant utterance that has come from a German official since the war began. Now the significant thing about it is that the Chancellor remains in power while he adopts the program of his bitterest enemies. In this fact we have the key to the puzzle: Germany on the defensive, Germany very short of food and supplies, Germany longing for a peace that the Allies will not yield except on terms that would be a confession of defeat. The Chancellor and his followers are aware that without victory they must offer terms which are a confession of failure. A powerful party in the Empire is conducting a great propaganda promising not only quick peace but decisive victory by the submarine. How under these conditions could the Chancellor offer the peace he must finally offer until he has tried the weapon which so many Germans believe in? There are few statesmen in history who would dare to stand on their better judgment in the face of such a set of facts. In time of war, no nation will confess defeat till it has given its extremists a chance to succeed or fail. In Germany the submarine is now regarded by a great part of the population as the measure of difference between victory and defeat, or at least between a quick peace and a slow one.

IT is not over-optimistic to find a certain compensation in the result. Had Germany made peace before the pan-Germans got their fling, the penalty of German defeat might have been visited upon the moderates in the Foreign Office, upon the weak-kneed mollycoddles who were afraid to hit England hard. But now the pan-Germans are requested to put up or shut up, and it is they who will at least share the onus of a bad peace. For the ultimate discrediting of the militarists this is hopeful. It is their policy which has left Germany literally without a friendly neighbor in the world, and when Germans emerge from their isolation after the war they will know what a reckless government has cost them. And being people who are as sensitive as the rest of us, and as anxious for goodwill, they may not be able to assume as they have during the war that the opinion of mankind is merely foolish or jealous or bribed by "British gold." If failure, universal disapproval, vast suffering, and an offer of equal opportunity after the war will not teach them they have followed false leaders, then men can learn nothing from their experience.

THE way in which the President broke with Germany was worthy of the greatness of the occasion. He has set a high standard of honor and decency for what lies ahead. The total lack of bitterness, the absence of ugly epithets, the refusal to stoop to bad temper were what the nation desired. This is no time for blatherskites and men who fight with phrases. The sense of the people now is that they will do whatever is required, but they will not wallow in the folly and credulity and panic that accompany wars. In the last two years we have often appealed to the spirit of Lincoln. He made war when he had to. He is loved to-day by those who fought him, in part at least because no bitter unforgettable word fell from his lips. He fought when he had to as a clean man should, and always he remained gentle and forgiving.

THE behavior of a few newspapers in the last few days—that of the New York *Evening Telegram,* for instance—has been indecent to the last degree. In a time when the nation needed above all else serenity in which to gather its strength, one or two newspaper proprietors have gone out of their way to let loose an avalanche of rumor and lies, and have filled the streets with bawling nonsense. The least of the objections is that the news sold is sheer fraud, perfectly barefaced manufacture. The real objection is that no man's mind can work effectively and no one can sleep while the air is punctuated with this shrieking idiocy. If we were sensible we should find some way to limit extras. They are a waste of time, money, energy and spirit. If we can't limit them we might at least suppress the calling of extras. The headlines are conspicuous enough, but if they won't do our press might imitate the English practice of issuing posters for newsboys and newsstands. We shall not need or desire hysterical excitement in this serious business.

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THE industrial conscription amendment to the Naval Appropriation bill introduced by Representative Padgett of Tennessee is an example of panic-striken patriotism which is certain to do more harm than good. The bill would authorize the President to commandeer factories producing material of whatever kind needed by the navy and to place labor under military law. Obviously based on the British Munitions of War act of 1915, its provisions are more sweepingly and drastically autocratic. It assumes that neither manufacturers nor workers will enter into the spirit of national service without compulsion. Mr. Padgett has apparently followed the text of the English act without familiarizing himself with the modifications in practice which English experience has made necessary. Has he looked into the history of the coppersmiths' strike in the Fairfield Shipbuilding yards of Glasgow, where the attempt to apply compulsion made a bad situation worse? Has he weighed the facts of the strike in the Welsh coal fields where the government surrendered to what it now describes as the reasonable demands of the men, because it was "impracticable to find two hundred thousand miners"? If his aim is efficiency, has he examined the reports of the English Health of Munition Workers' Committee, which show that the surest cure for malingering is the eight-hour shift, with a minimum of one day's rest in seven? And if Mr. Padgett has relied exclusively upon the letter of the English law, might it not be well for Congress to make haste slowly? To brush aside all trade-union restrictions on the apparent assumption that the sole object of trade-union standards is the limitation of output, suggests a blindly prejudiced point of view. If English experience may be taken as a guide, nothing could be more disastrous to the efficiency about which Mr. Padgett is so patriotically concerned than the hasty enactment of a law which would turn the loyalty of labor into suspicion and bitterness.

GOVERNOR WHITMAN has provided the only decent way out of the birth control muddle by offering to appoint a commission to investigate the whole matter and to report to the legislature. The law on the statute books is dishonest and undemocratic, because it prevents the imparting of knowledge now in general use, even when such knowledge is properly given by authoritative persons to those who require it. Physicians of the comfortable class constantly violate this law, while poorer people, who are not in close touch with doctors safeguarded by respectable traditions, are unable to secure the information. Reasonable protests against the law failed to attract the attention of the legislators. This made necessary the successful agitation of Mrs. Sanger and the hunger strike of Mrs. Byrne. But no one supposes that the question can be settled in the end by hunger strikes, or even by spreading about badly written and rather incompetent pamphlets. This commission, therefore, offers an opportunity to put the whole matter on a scientific basis if the Governor appoints people of real sociological training. Neither amiable respectability nor sheer propagandism will make the Commission a success. The type of mind needed for this work is possessed by investigators like Mr. John Fitch and Miss Josephine Goldmark. What we need from the Commission is not so much a series of hearings which make newspaper copy, but a thorough investigation of the whole subject leading to a report which shall be authoritative.

DURING 1916 there was an astonishing increase in the number of books by American authors. In 1915 there were 9,734 publications, 2,338 being imported. Last year there were 10,445, only 1,648 being imported. This increase, symptom as it is of a stimulation of national vitality, is only one side of the picture. There are harsh records from Europe of the havoc of war. Most of the figures available for the *Publishers' Weekly* do not afford the contrast between 1916 and 1915, but that between 1915 and earlier years is sufficiently striking. In 1915, for example, not a single volume was published in Belgium. In France there was an enormous falling-off, the publications decreasing from 11,460 in 1913 to 8,968 in 1914 and 4,274 in 1915. In Italy and in England there was no such record of loss. The totals in England in 1916 were 9,149 as compared with 10,665 the previous year. Germany tells a different tale—not for twenty years has the number of its book publications been so low. In 1913 there was the stupendous record of 35,078 new books. It fell to 23,558 in 1915. Back of these bare and bloodless figures, especially in France and Germany, there is the mortality of more than an industry. There is a clear relation between these statistics and the fact that national genius in every department of art and science is being irremediably frustrated and destroyed.

WITHIN the next few weeks the President will be called upon to approve or to veto a bill providing for the development of water-power on navigable streams. During the first session of the present Congress each house enacted legislation for this development, and a joint committee has lately had the matter in conference. While both bills are regarded as making generous

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enough provisions to encourage investment and development, the Senate bill—known as the Shields bill—has certain features which make it the less desirable. One of these is that it provides no compensation for the valuable privileges granted, whereas the House bill provides for "reasonable annual charges" for benefits accruing to the grantee, to be readjusted at the end of twenty years and every ten years thereafter. An even greater defect in the Senate bill is that it makes recapture by the government so difficult as to make the temporary leases practically a permanent grant. The price to be paid by the government for the property includes such intangible items as going values and anticipated profits, as well as all increases in land and water-right values. Nor can the recapture right be exercised even on these grounds without the passage of additional legislation. The House bill, on the other hand, provides that at the termination of the grant the government, "or any person authorized by Congress," may take over the property by paying only for the "reasonable value, not exceeding the actual costs" of the land, and for "the reasonable value" of the property. Bills which are redrafted in conference are usually unsatisfactory—but there is reason to believe that the President will veto any measure which does not contain the provisions for compensation and recapture which make the House bill the more desirable legislation. It is particularly necessary in this time of extraordinary legislation and public excitement that inadequate or dishonest measures are not allowed to slip through. Those congressmen who care for sound legislation, the public interested in conservation, and the President himself should all be on their guard.

America's Part in the War

NO one who read the German note has any right to doubt that Germany means to go as far as she dares to, that she can be stopped only by a show of force. On Wednesday evening, the thirty-first of January, Germany announced that she would deal in ultimates. No pacifist, who is not a non-resistant, could desire anything but an immediate reply to Germany in the language which she understands. Any attempt to argue the German government out of its decision would have been taken as an invitation to go on with the program. In the last two years there have been times when it was worth while to pocket pride and debate, because Germany was a house divided against itself. But that time has passed, and the President has acted as the hard facts demanded.

We are now in a twilight zone between peace and war. How long we shall stay in it no human being in America knows. It is nevertheless perfectly clear that the period of suspense must be devoted to increasing the pressure on Germany. The only course of action now is to assume that there will be war, and to make it as evident as possible to Germany that it will be effective war. Our task, therefore, is to block out the main lines of American participation, for effectiveness consists in adapting strategy to politics and action to strategy. A confusion of purpose would disable us.

In another article in these pages there is what we believe to be a conclusive argument showing that America is not being drawn into the war as the upholder of an obsolete system of maritime law. We are ranging ourselves on the side of western sea power in its struggle to resist continental land power. We are not punishing a lawbreaker, because both Britain and Germany have violated the laws of the sea. We are becoming the open ally of Britain and France because at the beginning of the war we decided that they were fighting in the main for the kind of world in which we wished to live. And if we wage war now, we shall not do it because we are lawyers upholding a precedent, but because our own existence and the world's order depend on the defeat of that anarchy which the Germans misname the "freedom of the seas." We shall uphold the dominion of the ocean highway as men upheld the Union in 1861, not because the power exercised by Great Britain is perfect, but because the alternative is intolerable. We shall uphold it knowing that it needs reform and that it must not in the future be used purely for imperial ends. By contributing something to save it from possible destruction we shall have a right to speak about its reform. Sea power internationalized is the nucleus of the league for peace.

Since this is the cause and purpose which brings us into the war our first task would be to assist the Allies in policing the highway. What technical means are to be used is for naval experts in both countries to decide. Some form of joint control over shipping will have to be devised at once. But our work would not stop there. While the war is on, we shall wish to count as heavily as possible against Germany, and any form of economic assistance we can give to her effective enemies we shall and ought to give. So far as money and munitions go we must take our stand with all the European Allies, and act in the spirit of an ally. This means that we supply what they need, not what it may please us to give. The Allies have an organization in active operation, and it would be our business to put American resources behind it.

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There must be no hoarding of guns over here, no interference with their supplies. It goes without saying that we shall coöperate and not compete with them.

The sending of an American army is another matter. The decision on this point cannot be made off-hand. If we place an army in France, it may mean that we are to take a part in the territorial adjustments of Europe. It is doubtful whether Europe wishes us to take any part. It is doubtful whether it is to the interest of America to take a part. The guiding principle here was laid down in the President's address to the Senate. We are not anxious to share in the settlement of Europe, but we are deeply concerned in the kind of settlement which is made. If it contains the seeds of another war we want no part in it; but we want our influence to count against sowing the seeds of another war. Therefore if the Allies wish us to put an army in the field we can do so only when they have defined their terms so specifically that we are assured of a just settlement.

This does not mean that we would not allow Americans to fight with the Allied armies. It would probably be feasible if the war is prolonged to send volunteers to France, have them trained there as American units, and allow them to be embodied in the French or the British army. We should want no independent American commanders. These would merely be American regiments to testify to our friendship without involving us as a nation in the detailed diplomacy of Europe.

In the meantime, however, it will be necessary to train a large force on American soil. The chances are all against its ever being used in Europe, but it ought to exist as a reserve and a precaution. How to raise such an army without disorganizing industry is the problem. It seems to us very undesirable at this time to open a recruiting campaign for volunteers. Recruiting in the present condition of the labor market would be almost impossible without a campaign of manufactured hatred which would distract the nation. Reluctantly therefore we suggest the adoption of compulsory training for certain age classes. Such a law is not feasible, however, without certain large exemptions and safeguards. The first of them should be the provision that the men trained would not be compelled to fight in Europe. That is to say, training would be compulsory, the service would be voluntary. Men engaged in necessary industries should also be exempted, and sincere exemption provided for the conscientious objector. Even with all these provisos, if the government called two or three classes to the colors a very decent reserve would be created within a year. For the training of this army the government might consider summoning home some of the thirty thousand Americans said to be fighting now with the Allied armies.

These appear to be the main lines of preparation called for by the break with Germany. To carry them out a series of diplomatic, naval, military and economic conferences with the Allies should be instituted. Now while things are still in the balance is the time to negotiate with them not only about actual aid but about political purposes. Certain things would be established now which would immensely clarify the future. An interdict on trade with Germany would wipe off our legal dispute with the Allies. A formal recognition by them of the purposes which inspire Pan-Americanism would simplify and secure this hemisphere. A demand upon Germany that she recognize the Monroe Doctrine as a basis of peace would carry into effect a part of the program announced by the President in his address. An agreement by the Allies to abandon the principles of the Paris conference should be considered, so that this war shall not end in a hostile peace. Such an agreement would probably weaken the German extremists more than a dozen army corps.

A History of These Months

THE only altogether unexpected element in Germany's action is its suddenness, and if those who have been feverishly denouncing the President's peace moves in the last two months had only kept the underlying facts in mind much bewilderment might have been avoided. In saying this we have no intention of using a grave crisis for recriminations à la George Perkins. The reason for turning over the history of these last few months is that unwarranted prejudice against Mr. Wilson has misled so many men whose wholehearted assistance must now be put at the disposal of the government. It has been assumed by the critics, for example, that the Sussex pledge did not hamper German submarines. This was simply not true, in spite of the fact that a number of borderland cases arose in which the pledge was violated. From May, 1916, to February 1st, 1917, Mr. Wilson held the submarine in check. It has been assumed also that the recent peace manoeuvers were idle meddling, foolish interference, vague talk without a practical foundation. This also was not true, as every one knew who had estimated correctly the international situation since last September.

People will recall that early in the autumn Mr. Gerard came back from Germany—with him came two newspaper men, Mr. Herbert Bayard Swope of the New York *World* and Mr. William C. Bul-

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litt, Jr., of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*—bringing detailed accounts of the controversy raging in Germany about the use of the submarine. They told every one who would listen to them that Germany meant to reach a decision this winter, that if she failed to win peace, she would turn to the submarine early in the spring. The public was engrossed in the election and refused to realize the gravity of the situation. But those who did realize it were convinced that the fate of western civilization might depend on the action of the American government in the period roughly from the election to the inauguration. For many of us this fact clinched the case for Mr. Wilson's re-election. On the main issues he was right: he was committed against ruthless submarine warfare, he had refused to make more than a paper case against the Allied blockade, and he stood for a league of peace as a possible alternative to war for the balance of power. When Mr. Hughes, on the night the U-53 performed off our coast, announced his intention of breaking the British blockade, it was clear that the defeat of Mr. Wilson in November meant chaos in the most crucial months of the war.

Immediately after election this alternative was before us: we might take advantage of the military deadlock and turn the mind of Europe towards a future negotiated peace in which security would be based not on victory but on powerful neutral guaranties; or the war into which America would be drawn might be a war to the knife, a war of unparalleled bitterness in which the western world might be impoverished for generations. Out of such a war we could hardly hope that a safer and better world would emerge. In either case our isolation would be over, and the question was, should we be kicked blindly into the whirlpool, or should we go with our eyes open and our purposes announced. We had to try to avoid the extension of the war, if that was possible; but the policy which was aimed to bring peace had at the same time to be a policy which would unify this country, justify partnership with the western Allies, and illuminate American purposes in the world.

This was the reasoning which led THE NEW REPUBLIC, for example, to say on November 25th that "our policy of benevolent neutrality is only a makeshift and will be broken by the stress of many more months of increasingly unscrupulous hostilities. . . . . But if we may well be forced to fight, and if by fighting we contribute to the success of one of the two groups of belligerents, we have every reason to inquire what the actual results of the success accomplished by our aid are likely to be, and whether these results will contribute to those objects of national policy, in the interests of which we have assumed the risks and the costs of war. Some positive action by President Wilson in favor of peace is consequently called for by the plain and pressing necessities of American national policy."

On December 12th the German government made its proposal of peace, but the tone of it was so offensive and the offer of blind negotiations so dangerous, that a curt refusal by the Allies was inevitable, and desirable. This strengthened the case for the American action which had been contemplated before the German proposal. We had to act quickly to clarify the situation for ourselves. The prospect of peace before the next offensive was gone after the Rumanian disaster, and the probability of a ruthless submarine campaign enormously increased. That is why the President's note of December 18th was only in a very minor sense a "peace note," as Secretary Lansing's more or less deliberate indiscretion showed. Our government still hoped, but not very confidently any longer, to build a bridge for discussion between the combatants, and if that failed, to have done something at least to clear up the ambiguities in the case of the Allies by whose side we might soon be compelled to fight.

The answers to the note were awaited with anxiety. If the Allies acted in anger, as so many Americans advised them to act, it would have been impossible to justify American participation in any degree. But they were wiser than some of their friends over here, and the reply they sent to the President, contrasted with the German reply, was fairly satisfactory. Then followed several weeks in which Germany still refused to outline the principles of a settlement or to take any decent interest in the organization of future peace.

On January 22nd the President went to the Senate and made his historic statement of the ideals which inspire the end of our isolation. The utterance, as he said, was addressed to liberals everywhere, to liberals in America so that they might crystalize their purposes, to liberals in the Entente countries so that they might repress their extremists, to liberals in Germany hoping they would act before it was too late. It was a wise and heroic effort which could not altogether fail. It has failed in Germany, but in the western world it has won for Mr. Wilson incomparable authority and leadership which will count enormously in the crisis now before us.

The main disaster has not been averted, but there is at least a star by which we can steer our course. Spiritually our people has been soundly led: American isolation ends, not in confusion, but with purposes defined, which we can justify to our own consciences and to the world.

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Justification

IF war between the United States and Germany follows upon the present crisis, as it probably will, what will be the better and final justification of such a result? A satisfactory answer to the question is not so obvious as many of our fellow countrymen imagine. The nation is not confronted by a simple question of right or wrong, in which all the right is on our side and all the wrong on Germany's. Neither is it engaged in a mere conflict between German and American national policies, which can be settled as a consequence of victory by one side or the other. As the issues between the two countries are ordinarily stated, there is a great deal to be said for the German contention; and this measure of justification in the German case is a fact of the first importance, because if its meaning is ignored or misunderstood, the penalty may be costly. There will be many American citizens of German extraction who will honestly believe in the comparative righteousness of the German contention, and who, if the majority of Americans insist on talking about the issue and acting on it as if it were only a question of right and wrong, will become a troublesome and dangerous element in our national counsels and life. Yet although the German submarine warfare against commerce, barbarous though it be, cannot and should not be attributed to a wanton malevolence on the part of Germany, the American nation is in our opinion wholly justified in waging war for the purpose of protesting against it. The beneficial consequences which should accrue both to the American and other peoples from fighting for the better cause can be made of sufficient importance to outweigh the grave risks and the huge costs which will have to be assumed and paid. Our participation in the war will not result in the vindication of a shabby and ambiguous group of maritime rights, as so many Americans now imagine, because the old structure of sea law has been damaged beyond repair. It must be made to result in the creation of a new maritime order; and the new order must be better than the old in one decisive respect. It must serve, not like the old, as the product and accomplice of an irresponsible competitive nationalism but as the chief instrument and bulwark of a future responsible and coöperative nationalism.

The American nation will be entering the war ostensibly as the defender of the law of nations against the onslaught of an unscrupulous Germany, which in the pursuit of her military advantages refuses to recognize the rights of neutrals and the claims of humanity. The official explanation of the American motives for fighting must be framed in the foregoing terms; but the real meaning and effect of our participation will be political rather than legal. We are being drawn into the war as a consequence of Mr. Wilson's policy of benevolent neutrality towards the Allies. Both groups of belligerents have been ignoring and violating the body of ambiguous precedents which composed the law of nations at the outbreak of the war. Their illegalities have been officially explained as a necessary and permissible measure of reprisal. The British, for instance, defended their drastic interdict on the commerce of neutral nations with Germany on the general ground that such a policy, even though it ignored the niceties of international law, was justified by Germany's violation of Belgium. When the British embargo began to cut off that part of German trade with neutrals which was legal, the Germans had two alternative methods of warding off the blow. Either neutral trading nations like the United States might be induced to insist upon a reading of sea law such as the Declaration of London, which would permit the Germans to obtain some of their needed supplies from abroad. Or the Germans could try to repay Great Britain in the same coin by using the submarine as a fair measure of retaliation against the illegal suffocation of their commerce. Our benevolent neutrality has deprived Germany of the use of both these weapons. We have allowed Great Britain, in defiance of our own traditional policy of a strict enforcement of neutral rights, to execute the most comprehensive and inexorable interdict on trade in the history of marine law. Yet we have insisted that Germany obey a part of the same body of law which Great Britain was violating, and as a consequence of such insistence we have done what we could to emasculate the submarine as a commerce destroyer. Thus we have already been playing a part in the war and behaving so as to promote the success of one group of belligerents and the failure of another. We have been conniving at British illegality and penalizing that of Germany.

The policy of benevolent neutrality was, we believe, wholly justifiable; but by following it we were not vindicating the existing system of marine law, and it is unpleasantly hypocritical to flourish any such pretense. If we had not discriminated against Germany she would have been deprived of her present excuse for using her submarines as commerce-destroyers and probably would never have done so. If the United States, that is, had been disposed to be really neutral—in the sense of being really impartial—we should have enforced international regulations against both groups of belligerents or against neither, and in this case we should not now be headed directly

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towards participation in the war. In a deeper sense the American nation has already been waging war on Germany. An actual outbreak of hostilities will confirm and develop a preëxisting disposition to aid the Allies and to injure Germany rather than bring into existence a wholly novel fact. Our German-American fellow citizens have recognized this condition and have struggled furiously and vainly against it. Their disloyalty, in so far as it exists, is the natural product of American unneutrality. In so far as the issue between the two governments is legal, the Germans have a grievance for which full allowance should be made in our attitude towards them.

The policy of benevolent neutrality, even though it has resulted in war, is not one for which any apology needs to be made. It was dictated by a sound and just estimate of the issues of the great war and of the proper relation of American national purposes to those issues. It would have been inconceivable for a nation with the ideals of the United States to have assisted the violator of Belgium in reaping any benefit from the outrage. It would have been abhorrent for a nation so indissolubly associated with the British Commonwealth by the vital facts of geographical situation, economic intercourse and spiritual partnership, to have done an injury to its partner in an hour of peril and distress. Considering the kind of quarrel in which the great war originated, the United States was bound to start by being apparently neutral, but its neutrality could not be anything but benevolent. If the benevolence of our neutrality brings us into collision with the enemies of Great Britain and France, we can accept that result, if not gladly, at least without reluctance or misgivings. A choice of this kind springs from something deeper than German violation of American rights, from something deeper even than similarity of conscious tradition and purpose with Great Britain. It springs from an ultimate community of situation and disposition, in such wise that a disaster to the British Commonwealth would leave the American nation in imminent physical danger and in utter spiritual isolation.

The settlement of the American continent and the building up of the American nation are a part of the same historical process and have been determined by the same fundamental conditions as the making of the British Empire. It has all depended upon the emancipation of travel by sea from the obstacles of a rudimentary technique, of adverse political claims and theories and from outbreaks of sporadic or organized violence. In the work of emancipation Great Britain has always played the major part. She has given security to the world's highway and to those nations which could only be approached by the world's highway; and under the shadow of this security not only has the British Empire carried free British institutions to many parts of the world, but the American nation has been allowed to grow unvexed and unretarded by any but its own domestic difficulties. The United States, like the other nations of the hemispheres, is the child not only of the increasing efficiency of travel by sea, to which all peoples have contributed, but of the peculiarly British Empire of the seas. Great Britain has policed the world's highway. In the performance of her work as policeman she framed a system of rules which only became operative in case of disorder on the highway, but which in that event enabled the dominant sea power to interrupt traffic almost, but not quite, at will. The effect of these rules was on the whole to deprive nations at war of the opportunity of trading with neutrals except with the consent and under the protection of sea power; and on the whole the rules and the British dominion of which they were the expression have served the cause of international order. In spite of the fact that the United States has protested against the British maritime police power, the American people have been one of its chief beneficiaries.

Before and during the war the Germans have challenged the British police power on the seas and the rules according to which it operated. They protested against it under its old form, when its scope was restricted by certain explicit neutral rights. They are protesting against it still more vigorously in its contemporary form, when the British placed an absolute embargo on all neutral trade with Germany. According to the new precedents the police power of the seas has become absolute, and its absolute character has provoked the most dangerous opposition which it has ever encountered. Let no one underestimate the gravity of the danger to which the invention of the submarine has exposed the British maritime dominion. The pending attack will probably fail, but the submarine as an invention is still in its infancy. Eventually it will become a far more formidable weapon, which any nation fighting for its life, as the Germans now believe themselves to be, would be likely to use as the Germans are now using it. Sooner or later the submarine will become so much improved that a sufficient number of them, operating without restriction, will be able to challenge and perhaps overthrow the empire of the seas in so far as it rests on battleships; and when that time comes the situation of neutrals and of a dominant sea power during war will become as precarious as that of a military power which does not control the seas. Maritime absolutism will have engendered maritime anarchy. A reign of

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terror will result. Neutral nations will not be able to trade at all. The seas will cease during war to be the world's highway, and will become in part at least a new and worse kind of no-man's land, like the convulsed and obscene bits of soil which now divide the front line trenches.

The answer to this dilemma is, of course, plain. It is the answer which the American nation is now making. The most professionally neutral of the great Powers is throwing neutrality into the discard. When we are forced to choose between maritime absolutism and maritime anarchy, we choose for the moment the absolutism, particularly when we have better reason to trust the representative of maritime absolutism than we have the representative of maritime anarchy. For the American nation there can be no real choice between taking the British side in such a controversy and taking the German. But if we do take the British side, we have the more rather than the less reason for recognizing what there is of truth and justice in the German protest, anarchical though it be. The absolutism, unless it is checked, will continue to breed anarchy. So it will become preëminently the business of the United States to see that it is properly checked and ordered. The Germans are right in one respect. The sovereignty of the sea, carrying with it as it does the power of life and death over nations, should not be used in the interest of exclusive national purposes. In so far as it is used in this way, Germany has a genuine grievance, in the increasing provocation of which it would be ruinous for the United States to share. As THE NEW REPUBLIC said on May 27th, 1916: "Sea power must not be deprived of its right to destroy commerce, because if it were deprived of the right, the most effective weapon of resistance against aggressive militarism would be fatally weakened; but the power must be exercised only under conditions and on behalf of policies which can obtain official international approval."

Fortunately President Wilson has already begun the work of creating the mechanism whereby conflicting national interests can be adjusted and a body of international right defined, accepted and applied. And, in so far as this body of right is created, maritime absolutism will be robbed of its curse. The league of nations which he has been discussing will rest upon sea power and upon that control over the highway of the world which sea power must necessarily exercise. The sea must belong to all the nations, in war no less than in peace. It constitutes the common human inheritance and domain. Germany cannot be permitted to terrorize international territory, and rather than permit a reign of terror the United States, which is born of maritime freedom and order, has every justification for fighting. But the only authentic sovereign of the international domain is an organized community of nations. If the community of nations does not exist, it must be created for the purpose of assuming and exercising the mastery of the sea. On no other condition is anything like permanent pacification possible, and it should be only in the interest of ultimate pacification that the American people are drawn into the war. The President has already made this truth clear and emphatic to the world. Because we may enter the war, our interest in the organization of peace has been intensified rather than attenuated. Under Mr. Wilson's leadership it has become our national policy, and our participation in the war, if it takes place, will furnish us with a better opportunity than ever of trying it out.

Labor and War

IN the name of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Gompers has cabled the president of the General Federation of Trade Unions in Germany urging him to prevail upon the Imperial Government to avoid war with the United States. The Central Federated Union of New York City, whose action in the present crisis may be taken as expressing the national trade union sentiment, has called upon President Wilson "to resist the selfish and sinister influences that would plunge our country into the world caldron of murder." The Socialist party, through its national executive committee, has called mass meetings throughout the country to "protest against this dastardly attempt of the capitalist class and its kept press to drive our country into war." The President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor has moved for a general strike in case the government declares war without the sanction of a national referendum.

There is a striking parallel between these actions and those taken by the labor and socialist groups in Europe in the summer of 1914. In Germany the trade union and socialist movement are fused, so that before the war *Vorwaerts* was the official organ of both. Throughout July, 1914, *Vorwaerts* was outspoken in its condemnation of Austria. It urged the German government to assent to England's proposal that England, France, Germany and Italy should act as mediators between Austria and Serbia. On July the twenty-ninth, after Germany had rejected the proposal, *Vorwaerts* declared that "William II holds the outcome in his hand." Anti-war demonstrations were held throughout Germany. *Vorwaerts* went so far as to threaten revolution. Even after mobiliza-

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tion was ordered, *Vorwaerts* continued more strongly than ever to insist upon the criminal responsibility of Austria and Germany. But on August the fourth, the Socialists in the Reichstag sanctioned the war credits on grounds of national defense.

In England, as late as August the second, the leaders of the trade-union and socialist groups at a mass meeting in Trafalgar Square issued a joint protest "against any steps being taken by the government of this country to support Russia, either directly or in consequence of any understanding with France, as being not only offensive to the political traditions of the country, but disastrous to Europe; we have no interest, direct or indirect, in the threatened quarrels which might rise from the action of Austria and Serbia." Everywhere mass meetings were held to denounce "the greed and intrigues of militarists and armament mongers . . . the governing class and their prey who are eager to commit the worker to coöperate with Russian despotism." But all this was changed by the invasion of Belgium. Immediately "Stop the War" demonstrations came to an end. To-day Mr. Hyndman, leader of the radical socialists, is among the most vehement opponents of a premature peace, and Mr. Arthur Henderson who signed the Trafalgar Square resolution is a member of the reorganized cabinet.

With variations in detail, the record of the labor and socialist groups in France and Italy, even in Austria and Russia, is the same. And now the labor and socialist groups in America are repeating the story. Protests are being issued, mass meetings organized, and appeals are being made to the organized workers of Germany to unite with their American brothers in preventing war. But what if a German submarine should without warning sink a merchantman bearing American citizens? To such an atrocity all American labor groups would undoubtedly react in much the same way as labor in England reacted to the invasion of Belgium.

It is this prospect which the leaders of American labor should face now. If Germany answers the President's ultimatum with an "overt act" it is probable that there will not only be war but a swift regimentation of our national resources including labor, under federal control. And unless labor is prepared for this event there is danger that it will again repeat the experience of labor in Europe and especially in England. By failing to anticipate the effects of the war upon industry and formulating a program of coöperation with the government, the leaders of organized labor in England lost their control over conditions of employment. "When the state," says *The New Statesman* of January 13th, 1917, "is in need of labor for the Army, munition-making, or other indispensable industries, the government has not shrunk from simply commandeering the necessary number of men without pretending to pay at the market rate, or to provide more than necessary subsistence for them and their families." Trade-union regulations have been swept aside on the ground of military necessity. Negative action by labor in the first weeks of the war was the worst possible preparation for war conditions.

If war comes, American labor will be expected to meet the requirements of national service. Whether it will enter this service through voluntary coöperation with the government on terms of its own making, or will wait to be commandeered on the government's terms, is a question which it must decide immediately or not at all. Unless labor is foresighted, there is danger that standards which it has taken generations to establish may be swept away, as they have been in England, by the ostensible requirements of military necessity.

And if labor is called upon to surrender its bargaining power to governmental regulation of hours and wages in the national interest, it should insist upon equal sacrifices on the part of employers and owners of capital. *The New Statesman* in the edition already referred to, calls attention to the fact that when the English government needed the American securities held by British investors it "compensated the holders for the temporary loan of their documents at a rate which surprised the City by its generous munificence." While English labor has been commandeered at a bare subsistence rate, the wealth production of England for generations to come has been mortgaged to those who had money to lend "at a rate of interest unprecedented for one hundred years." If there is to be conscription, organized labor should insist that it shall be a conscription of interests and profits as well as of men. If labor is to be put under any kind of restraint it should demand ample guaranties that its sacrifices will be to the nation and not to the financial profit of individuals.

Innumerable questions involving the democratic future of labor have been raised by the imminence of war. Leaders of organized labor will lose an unprecedented opportunity to serve wage workers and the country if they fail to grapple with these questions before they get beyond control. To permit the demoralization of labor standards on the ground of military necessity would result in permanent injury to the industrial life of the nation.

We hope that the leaders of American labor

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will take the initiative in formulating a working program of coöperation with the federal, state, and municipal governments and that they will define terms upon which organized labor can take an effective stand. If they permit hostilities to find them unprepared they will risk a permanent loss of their proper authority in the councils of the nation. They will expose organized labor to the most serious menace it has faced in its history.

The German-Americans

ON German-Americanism there are a few things which need to be said and candidly considered. The good faith of the overwhelming mass of German-Americans is beyond discussion. The percentage which may be passively disloyal is insignificant, the number of those who might actually attempt treasonable acts is infinitesimal. In the rest of the population the overwhelming mass is at this moment deeply friendly and sympathetic. But there exists a small minority who are haters and baiters by temperament. The German-American problem consists simply in the suppression of the extremists, in isolating them at once so that they shall not poison the nation's energy.

Unless both are dealt with drastically before passion is out of hand the rift all decent people dread will be opened. It is the government's business, national, state and local, to act as Mayor Mitchel and Governor Whitman have already acted in New York, to display force as a preventive, and to deal swiftly with any disorder. This is the very best protection that German-Americans can ask, for it is they in their innocence who would suffer most if crimes were committed.

But we must face the fact that some violence may be attempted, that American lives may be lost at sea and bitterness created. There will be some calling themselves Americans who will try to behave badly. They will punish the German Admiralty by maltreating Americans of German descent. They will discharge cooks and plumbers, they will shout "Hun" or "barbarian" at music teachers and druggists, they will boycott grocery stores, and insult acquaintances. There will be some newspapers seized by spy mania, and incredible atrocity tales will be passed around and believed. All of this will be poison, and now, before it is too late, the commonsense and decency of this nation should be organized against it.

The greatest responsibility falls upon the newspapers. They have it in their power to enrich or destroy the soul of our people. We urge editors in every city to meet at once and agree solemnly that they will not pander to hate and disunion. We urge all clergymen and leaders of opinion to consecrate themselves against every effort to soil the nation's purpose. It is for these who control the instruments of publicity to see that the tolerance and good humor and charity of popular government are not undermined. We urge the real leaders of the German-American communities to come forward, control the German press, isolate the mischief makers, and act as spiritual mediators for those who are voiceless. They will make a mistake if they merely remain silent and disdain the oncoming of suspicion. They should act with candor and decision and without fear. They should not pretend that there is no unassimilated element in the country. They should on the contrary organize, displace false spokesmen, and in the light of common discussion keep the relationship healthy. They will find a response in the American people such as they have not hoped for in their discouragement. They will find their loyalty all the more admired because it is the result of a free choice and is paid for at so high a price.

The government can aid them. A press censorship will undoubtedly be necessary, and we urge the government to consider whether its powers should not include the right to suppress any attempt to harass the German-Americans. The systematic and unjust persecution of so valuable an element of our population might well constitute the gravest peril to our safety and power. We ask the government in establishing a censorship to put in charge of it civilians liberal and sensible enough to value free discussion and realize that the worst enemy of genuine patriotism is the patriotism of the gutter. For the prevention of physical disorder the government is fairly well prepared. It should move at once to prevent the insidious destruction of morale which comes from the hatred displayed by those who masquerade as patriots.

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Outlawed Children

FROM many different quarters at once the demand is being made that something must be done for children born out of wedlock. In Europe and in half a dozen different languages, it has been insistently expressed, for many people there can now see clearly what they could not even dimly perceive before the war began; that is, that the children of the nation must be conserved, no matter how they may have got themselves born into the world. The supreme need that life shall be renewed has made the fact of legitimacy almost of secondary importance. At the present time, when the death force is encroaching so closely on the life force that the rhythm of reproduction has been dangerously interrupted, the young generation has grown immeasurably precious. Not the smallest part of it can be sacrificed to appease the stern moralists who think cruelty to the innocent is necessary as a punishment of the guilty.

The barbarism of the sacrifice has been pointed out more effectively in Norway than anywhere else. The public has been taught by statistics that the offspring of irregular sex-unions are the innocent victims of social vengeance and economic disinheritance. Their death-rate is nearly three times that of other infants. This abnormally high death-rate is the direct measure of the social hatred which they encounter on the threshold of life. They die of poverty and neglect; they die of premature separation from their mothers; they succumb to the same conditions to which poverty babies everywhere succumb, except that all these conditions are fatally aggravated in the case of the illegitimate child. If they survive physical destruction in babyhood, it is only to perish, ethically and spiritually, in later life as criminals and prostitutes. They are outcasts, pariahs, and suffer the social death-in-life which society callously decrees for such unbidden guests.

This modern slaughter of the innocents, which usually goes by such complacent names as infant mortality and juvenile delinquency, has recently been made the subject of much criticism in this country. The present legal position of the illegitimate child can not be defended on essential moral grounds. The law deprives him of practically all family rights. The mother, to be sure, is obliged to support him as well as she can, and the father is also required to contribute a nominal sum if the mother hales him before a tribunal and subjects herself to insufferable humiliations in the process. The child's only effective claim is on the mother, whose own need of protection is coincident with the child's greatest need of it. The law is so drawn as to protect as far as possible the anonymity and irresponsibility of the man; it heaps the whole responsibility upon the mother. This disproportion is clearly unjust to the mother, who is thereby required to bear the full consequences of an act in which another shared. Still greater injustice is done the child, who is mercilessly penalized for the illicit union of his parents. Our illegitimacy laws are repositories of ancient ideas of vengeance, legalized injustice and overbearing discrimination.

An increasing number of social workers, especially among those who are identified with the work of the juvenile courts and the domestic relations courts, are arraying themselves against a law which so signally fails to discriminate between the guilty and the innocent. In Illinois, a state which has gained a reputation for giving vital questions an early hearing, the illegitimacy laws have been criticized by humane citizens generally, the most pointed criticism of all coming from those new-made citizens, the women voters. The legislature at Springfield this winter will be asked to revise the statutes concerning children whose parents have not married each other and, among other changes, to delete the words "bastard" and "illegitimate" from the code.

There is one logical and obvious method of securing justice for the so-called fatherless child. That is to give to the child its natural right—the right to two parents. The essence of the needed reform is to wipe out completely from the statute-books what Minister Castberg of Norway describes as "an outrageous and unnatural fiction." The common saying about the child of an unmarried mother is that "it has no father." This extraordinary statement has been incorporated in our domestic relations laws. It has been adopted by all the civilized states. Until a few years ago, it looked as if the ancient fable was destined to stand forever. But thanks to the Mutterschutz movement in Germany and the educational propaganda carried on in the Scandinavian countries, the truth about the illegitimate child began to be recognized. It was the Norwegian Minister of Justice, Johan Castberg, who at last denounced the legal fable and all its villainous consequences. The Castberg bill, now the law of Norway, is based upon the simple law of nature, that every child has two parents.

Up to the time of the present Norwegian law,

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the illegitimacy code of Europe showed only a slight advance from total to partial disinheritance. Originally, the law gave the illegimate child almost as little claim on the mother as on the father. The popular conception of the child as the incarnation of the sin from which its existence was derived was expressed in statutes which damned the infant before it was born. Under the law, the child of the unmarried mother could be exposed to penury and neglect as no legitimate child could be. The next stage in legislation gave the child complete filial rights towards its mother, including inheritance rights. This failed to improve its economic prospects materially, since the unmarried mother is not as a rule a woman of property. The English law still witholds the right to inherit from the mother, though most of the American states have conceded it.

They also concede a nominal or limited support from the father. The Illinois statute, for instance, provides that he may be required to pay not more than $50 a year. No matter what his income may be, this is his maximum duty. Such a law is, as Castberg says, " not merely an injustice to the mother and child, but a demoralizing institution." It is demoralizing to masculine ethics that the state should thus sanction paternal selfishness in its crudest and most brutal form. The father who lives in luxury and maintains his child under poverty conditions is still doing his full legal duty as a parent. And to this type of selfishness the law encourages him to add deceit. " The system of concealment and lies in which paternity now is allowed to be shrouded and which is, in itself, an offense to wifehood and motherhood " is not the least demoralizing feature of the whole demoralizing institution. The outlawing of illegitimacy tends to produce more illegitimacy.

The Norwegian law does away with the system of partial or nominal fatherhood in all cases where paternity has been established. Between father and father there is no difference. The natural father must assume his full legal responsibility in the same way that the legal father must assume his. The child, every child, is entitled to take its father's name, to be supported and educated in the station of life to which its father belongs if that station is superior to the station of the mother, and to inherit exactly as a legitimate child would inherit not only from its father but also from its father's relatives.

The claim of the unmarried mother, on the other hand, is strictly limited. She is entitled to receive from the father adequate support and medical care during the period of her incapacity, but beyond this she does not receive any income for her personal use. The law holds her jointly responsible with the father for the child's support. Her contribution may be made in the form of money payments, if she is a wage-earner; or it may be made in the form of providing a home and personal care for the child. The law regards her domestic function as an economic contribution, as long as the child is very young, and considers her as sharing with the father the burden of support. In every respect, the state seeks to divide the parental responsibility as equally as possible between the two parents.

This feature constitutes the essential difference between the Norwegian law and a proposal recently put forward in Illinois. The latter contains the provision that the birth of a child should be sufficient to establish a common-law marriage. This method is manifestly impossible. The primary exceptions which would have to be made in favor of parents already married would be to the detriment of the children of these exempt parents and would result in the law's failure to protect just those persons for whose protection is was designed. Besides, such a law would clash with the modern idea of marriage as an institution based on individual choice and mutual consent. Public opinion has traveled too far in that direction to about-face now. There is, fortunately, little prospect that popular support could be rallied for a measure which would legally sanction, no matter in how good a cause, a system of forced marriages.

Judge Mary Barthelme, of the Chicago Juvenile Court, is strongly opposed to the idea of automatic marriage. Judge Barthelme points out the social unwisdom of forcing marriage upon the type of unfit parent who is too familiar a figure in the court. Here is an obstacle to the automatic marriage scheme which no one will deny. Admit, then, that those unfit to marry should be excluded from the jurisdiction of the law and that those already married *must* be so excluded, and there remain only normal and responsible individuals who, whether guilty or wronged or neither, have an unquestionable right to decide for themselves whether they will be married or not.

The illegitimate child must be made, in effect, legitimate. But it must be done by methods which do not sacrifice the few and precious milestones of personal liberty which humanity has already passed on its " march to the plains of heaven." Besides, it is not really fair to try to put the whole blame for the fate of the illegitimate child on the parents alone. So long as society fosters the stigma of illegitimacy which blights the lives of innocent children, we are all responsible for the sinister results.

KATHARINE ANTHONY.

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Lydia in Exile

SIBERIAN exile is no doubt very terrible. But Siberia is vast, mystic, romantic. Not so the village of Beauregard, where Lydia, late of New York, is wearing out the days of her youth, chained to her blasted family tree. Beauregard is one of those dreary little towns where the frayed edges of North and South overlap. Here you encounter the pretensions but not the fine courtesy of the southern gentleman; the hardness but not the efficiency of the northern business man. You do not know Beauregard? Let us drop off the so-called M. O. B. Flyer, and pay a visit to Lydia. We need not disturb the slumbers of the old white hack-horse, always hitched at the Jim Crow end of the squat brick station. It is not a long walk, down the main street, past the First Chance Saloon, the Farmers and Planters Hotel, the Emporium, the *Morning Gazette*. At the post-office, red brick monument to Beauregard's faithful congressman, we turn to the left, pass the public library, occasionally open and always dismal, the high school, with unkempt grounds fought over by country boys and town boys, the First Presbyterian Church, Colonel Watt's mansion, Peter Suydecker's residence, and a row of yellow bungalows. We have arrived at Lydia's home, a venerable colonial house set far back among ragged lilac clumps, with white veranda columns coiled about by frowsy vines of morning glory and virgin's bower. Beyond the house lies a swamp, infested with frogs interminably chorusing, "Knee deep, knee deep. Better go 'round!"

A chocolate colored mass of flesh answers our ring and ushers us into the parlor, where we find ourselves sufficiently occupied adjusting our eyes to the dim light. If Lydia is unusually dilatory in appearing, Aunt Beliza is likely to linger and with characteristic border-state indiscipline, reveal all manner of discouraging details about the decay of the family fortunes. Beliza hasn't been paid for years; that is why she remains. If she were to take another place, she might never get her money. Perhaps she may not anyway. The number of bills floating around the house— But now her quick ears perceive a footfall on the carpet and she disappears through one door as Lydia enters through another.

Lydia is tall, and moves sinuously. Her voice is low, her air disillusioned. She is gracious and uninterested. Her face is very white, her hair black, and you observe as she seats herself with her face half turned to the light that her profile is perfection, a fact of which she is clearly conscious. Discreetly bejeweled and robed like a duchess, Lydia would pass for brilliantly beautiful in a metropolitan society. Of this, too, Lydia is conscious. She would rule disdainfully over troops of admirers. But all her allurements are lost in Beauregard. Here men do not fall in love with profiles but with the full front view—preferably very full. The unspoiled Beauregard taste in beauty runs to curves, chiefly described on a very short radius. Besides, Lydia is twenty-seven, an advanced age, according to the standards of Beauregard, where life, such as it is, belongs to extreme youth. Even a young married man might chat with Lydia at a fair, without exciting gossip or laying a basis for a domestic crisis. Not that there are men in Beauregard, either married or unmarried, whose glances could bring the faintest glow to Lydia's white cheek.

To get away! This is Lydia's formula of unattainable happiness. It was the formula of her girlhood, and once she did in fact seem to attain it. First there were four years at a most respectable girls' college, where she studied classics and music and prepared herself for a literary career under a professor who wrote plays too deep and refined for the contemporary stage. Lydia's calling, according to the professor, was the Essay, and Lydia learned to write of the politer emotions with all the circumvolution of a Walter Pater. The politer emotions seemed not to interest the editors of magazines, but then it's well known in the respectable girls' colleges that personal relations are everything in placing manuscript. Therefore Lydia transformed her slight patrimony into hard cash and betook herself to New York to bewitch the editors. What happened, naturally, was that New York abstracted the patrimony and Lydia was forced under pain of starvation to return to Beauregard, native abode of unending tedium.

"Please tell me what I can do?" she sometimes asks disconsolately. "I'd die before I'd teach school. I couldn't possibly learn to sell things. There's nobody for me to marry. All I can do is to write, and they won't take what I write." Lydia's judgment is sound. There is nothing in the world she can do—within the realm permitted to a lady of good southern blood. If some one would give her plenty of money to live on for a while and dress her up like a duchess, until the beautiful Lydia became current tradition, all might be arranged. But who will lend money on a profile?

"I'm buried," mourns Lydia. "Worse than buried. Oh, I am so tired of Aunt Ellen, and Mrs. Watt, and that detestable Judge Cooper."

Judge Cooper is a widower of fifty, stiff, ceremonious, polysyllabic, a border-state lawyer of the old school. He affects the beard and fiery glance of a Civil War portrait of Jefferson Davis. He was anciently smitten with the beauty of Lydia's

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mother, and now he is not quite certain that he does not owe the offer of his hand to Lydia. She is really not unattractive, he reflects; she is of good family and properly bred. She has been somewhat spoiled by her years in New York, to be sure, but she might get over it. The Judge knows New York slightly and detests it. He lost money there, and the Judge is a man of acute pecuniary nerves.

Every Sunday afternoon, unfailingly, Judge Cooper finds himself in Lydia's dim parlor, engaged in the interminable work of weaving, with Lydia's mother and wan Aunt Ellen, a comprehensive Who's Who of Calhoun County and the surrounding regions. Lydia sits at the window apparently placid but inwardly sick to death of the eternal process of unfolding the relations between local nonentities. "I have ascertained," drones the Judge, "that Mr. John Darcy, who represented the M. O. B. in the proceedings relating to the condemnation of property at Brenner, is one of the Darcys of Steubenville. The Darcys of Steubenville"—etc. Precious information, thinks Lydia. For all that concerns any one present, Mr. John Darcy might as well be a natural son. That would at any rate save time.

Whenever the supply of genealogical puzzles runs out, the Judge launches upon a tirade against New York. Lydia remains outwardly complaisant, but her soul generates a contradiction to each of the Judge's points. New Yorkers have no homes. What a detestable thing a home is, anyway, thinks Lydia.—New Yorkers have no friends. They can escape Judge Cooper, Lydia comments to herself. —In New York there are thousands of men, and women, too, who never go to church. They are better occupied, retorts Lydia inaudibly.—Women have been seen smoking cigarettes. Lydia imagines herself with a cigarette between her lips, inhaling sensations of wellbeing and reckless freedom such as, alas, are not to be had from any cigarette. Is it the boredom of Beauregard or the personal antipathy to the egregious Judge? Lydia prefers a New York vice to Beauregard virtues.

There is one Beauregard girl of whom the circle in Lydia's dim parlor speaks only in circumlocutions. Bertha Deming, or Bertha Sturtevant, as she now calls herself, lives in New York. She occupies a noble apartment on Riverside Drive. Lydia has never seen it; while in New York, she wouldn't for the world have gone near it. Aunt Ellen once called on Bertha, and had certain suspicions somewhat confirmed. Bertha had not even a photograph of Mr. Sturtevant, and Aunt Ellen failed to see the gentleman: he was out of town. He was also out of town when Judge Cooper called, to have his own suspicions somewhat superfluously confirmed. Other residents of Beauregard, women of excellent flair, had called on Bertha, always to find Mr. Sturtevant out of town. Perhaps Mr. Sturtevant is always out of town, by that name, at any rate. Poor Bertha! The metropolis is a terrible place for young girls.

Lydia sits listlessly, apparently preoccupied with the vision of maple branches swaying before the window. But in her heart she is more intent upon Bertha than any of the Beauregard morals police. Many years ago she knew Bertha, a jolly, good-hearted, rather vulgar girl with no profile at all. Exactly what is life like to Bertha now, from her apartment, where you see the sun drop down red across the Hudson? Were all those jewels that dazzled and frightened Aunt Ellen, real jewels? Were all those gowns at which Mrs. Watt took a peep when Bertha was called to the phone, real gowns contemporary with the season? And Mr. Sturtevant or Mr. X—who certainly has money, whether he has a name or not—is he young and brutally brilliant, or advancing in years, gently seeking consolation from a life in which he has been more victim than sinner? Bertha in New York, Lydia in Beauregard; yet Lydia is beautiful, Bertha only pretty.

"My dear Lydia!" Lydia starts from her revery. Her mother and Aunt Ellen have disappeared, and the Judge is standing near her in what he regards as an effective pose, his eye cocked down at her. "Good-bye, I must go," cries Lydia and slips through the portières, out into the neglected garden, where the west wind wrestles with the moist odors of the swamp. This is the tenth time the Judge, with the connivance of Lydia's mother and aunt, has executed this manoeuver. He always assumes this pose and confidently expects something to happen. What always happens is that Lydia flies. But if Lydia were the least bit candid with herself, she would admit that she is not at all sure that she may not one day find herself immobile, her will paralyzed, listening to the Judge's well rehearsed speech, unable to utter the negative that might release her from the tightening net of expectations, the Judge's, her mother's, Aunt Ellen's, and those of all the neighborhood. At any rate her mind keeps recurring to the thought that Bertha probably succumbed to a similar incapacity to work and to act. What Lydia would not dream of admitting to herself is that she has made pretty precise calculations as to the probable extent of the Judge's fortune; whether he would obstinately adhere to the plan of living in Beauregard; whether his spare habit of body indicates early dissolution or longevity. You and I know she has made these calculations. It is horrible, but anything can happen to one in exile.

ALVIN S. JOHNSON.

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Interesting Schools

Grau, theurer Freund, ist alle Theorie, und grün des Lebens gold'ner Baum.

AS a schoolmistress I am often tempted to contradict Goethe: theory is anything but gray in our modern world; it has all the golden bloom of the green tree of life. The dull drab color is reserved nowadays for the practical worker. And even I myself, with my schoolmistress habit of ever seeing the obstacle in the way of delightful theoretic progress, cannot help taking pleasure in the vision of youth at last freed from drudgery, presented in the latest notable contribution to my own subject, Mr. Abraham Flexner's "A Modern School." This clever little pamphlet outlines a new kind of school adapted to the new kind of world we live in, as the present-day school, it would seem, is not. This new school Mr. Flexner only sketches for us; we are told that it is to teach what is "real" and dismiss what is "formal," without any precise information as to what these two heads include, but a delightful picture is given of children, never dull and never lazy, gaining spontaneously and with ever fresh interest an insight into the world they are living in. Perhaps no one but a practical schoolmistress can feel quite how seductive the vision is, or put the pamphlet down with a keener sense of the many failures of the school of to-day. So carried away indeed was I by the first reading that even when tiresome questions of matter of fact began to present themselves, as, for instance, how "a preference" for learning French irregular verbs could be "readily elicited" or how, if "the school slate were wiped clean of mathematics," or at all events much cleaner than at present, "phenomena and their relations" could be dealt with "in the most rigorous scientific form," I was inclined rather to blame myself for over insistence upon detail. But slowly as I thought the matter over I found a certain mistrust of the implication of this new education stirring within me, an implication so veiled in Mr. Flexner's clever presentation, that I saw it clearly only with the help of two of Mr. Flexner's followers and interpreters, the first of whom I met in an article published last spring in THE NEW REPUBLIC.

Mr. Randolph Bourne in the "Self-Conscious School" showed himself to me at once of Mr. Flexner's following, and all the i's of Mr. Flexner's implications he carefully dotted for me. Where Mr. Flexner threw out a suggestion: "Most of what a child should do coincides with its own preference," Mr. Bourne was explicit: "His work must be first of all interesting activity." Mr. Flexner's ever-recurring but never-defined phrases, "real tasks," "real problems," "real issues," Mr. Bourne defined as "whatever a child can do joyfully and well" because it interests him. When Mr. Flexner would have all school work keep "within reach of the child's genuine response," to Mr. Bourne all that the school has to do is "to provide manifold opportunities for the satisfaction of the child's own curiosity." And, in strict logical sequence, no sooner had I read Mr. Bourne's elucidation than there came into my hand a second one in the shape of an announcement of a school for girls in one of our larger cities designed to embody the new idea, "to energize the girls' minds through the doing of real tasks," to quote Mr. Flexner again, "while never overlooking woman's domestic rôle and function," by substituting for "formal" Latin and "remote" mathematics, dressmaking, millinery, the management of a successful social entertainment, and other such "real tasks." So finally for me the outlines of Mr. Flexner's sketch were filled in and a clear picture emerged of the modern school as a place where dulness has been banished, where discipline is no more, and attention is as involuntary as at a moving-picture show. In brief the keynote of the new education is interest, not discipline; the aim is efficiency, not knowledge.

I wish it were possible within the limits of one short article to consider the "modern school" from both these points of view, but the value of what old-fashioned folk call "learning," the immense value to women above all of impersonal intellectual interests, is too big a subject for me to take up here. I must confine myself exclusively to the first, and to it only as it touches girls. What will this modern and self-conscious school do for the girls of the well-to-do? This is the question that has been growing large in my mind. Mr. Flexner and Mr. Bourne as men are probably chiefly concerned with boys; in any event, they know about boys as they cannot about girls, and I as a woman will not contradict them in regard to their own sex. If a doubt crosses my mind whether the man's world is a place first of all of interesting activity, and a boy best fitted for it when trained only to do "joyfully and well what interests him," I am content to dismiss it. It may well be that after his school years have been spent in purely interesting activity, life's stress, so much more urgent for men to-day than for those of a generation ago, will give him of sheer necessity the power to work hard at whatever comes to him. It must do so, or he will be openly discredited in a world where opportunities to make good are harder and harder to get. Life will discipline him surely and swiftly. But the girl? Precisely as men's work has grown harder, the work traditionally women's has grown easier, and less and less is required of them as housekeepers and trainers of children. A girl's success in the world is measured by only one standard, the marriage she makes. After marriage, she does not have to measure herself by any standard; her work is not standardized at all. Is she an incompetent housekeeper and unintelligent mother, the knowledge of her deficiencies is confined to a very few and they her most lenient judges. It is quite possible for her herself to go through life without ever being made aware of them, a completely successful woman both in her own eyes and those of her world. When, therefore, the girl leaves the school of interesting activity what will life do for her comparable to what it will do for the boy in requiring concentration, accuracy, thoroughness, in a word, the power to do hard work? Be it always remembered that a girl's home before marriage exacts even less of her in all such ways than her home after marriage. The American father's and mother's attitude toward their daughter may be summed up as, "Let her have as good a time as she can while she is young." The central idea of the old discipline, "Do it *because* it is hard; do it *because* you are afraid of it," has passed away from our comfortable, prosperous homes. I as a schoolmistress plead to be allowed to keep it in my school.

For our girls let us hold fast to the ideal of hard work. This is my sole thesis. I have no plan of work to recommend here or to oppose. I cannot discuss seriously the conception of "studies that serve real purposes" which puts into the school curriculum millinery and dressmaking and cooking. This is a masculine prepossession, due, I dare swear, to the lurking fear in most male minds that home comfort in the world of new women is not going to be properly looked after. It is so important to them and they are so helpless to secure it for themselves, I never wonder at their eagerness to put something, any-

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thing, they think will lead to it into the schools. But we that are women know better, especially we that are college-trained women. We know how very simple for us are the problems modern housekeeping presents; how very easy it is to learn to cook; and not only how extravagant it would be to make our own dresses and trim our own hats instead of buying them ready made, but how very loudly our men-folk would object to our wearing these productions when we went out with them.

Such futile substitutes for education apart, I am not pleading for or against any course of study. The matter of vital concern is not what children study but how they study, not the information they gain but the habits they acquire. "Education," said the great English cardinal, "is not knowledge, it is the preparation for more knowledge." "The result of education," says Dr. Dewey, "is the capacity for further education." Latin, the moot subject at present, is doomed, and only a few of us will be found to do battle for it. A little pang of pity we shall feel for the children of the future who will never go down with Aeneas into that strange underworld of flitting shadows, never follow the doves to the magic golden bough, and never wait before the palace door in royal Carthage for Dido to come forth, Diana-like, in purple hunting dress. But nevertheless Latin must go, for girls in the end as well as for boys; only, I beg, let us keep it for the girls until the new school for the boys has proved that French demands as much clear thinking. Give up mathematics for the boys but let us keep it for the girls until a course in "the observation and execution of industrial and commercial practices"—to quote Mr. Flexner again—has been evolved for the boys that requires as much accurate reasoning. Or leave the boys altogether to life for the sterner training; they will not be able to escape the adamantine nails of the dread goddess Necessity. But give to the girls, denied that exacting education, schools where the central idea is work that results in discipline, whether of the mind or the will must be left to the psychologists, but at all events in some power to make oneself do thoroughly the task that lies at hand; where it is recognized that the best preparation for life in the "real" world is the habit of not shirking what is hard, and that only through steady, strenuous effort, yes, and through drudgery too, can the immense joy of work ever be tasted. So and so alone can "activity" be genuinely and permanently "interesting," for it is an inexorable law of human nature that smattering and superficiality surely lead to weariness and boredom.

My words echo back from the past when they were the battle-cry of those who fought to have girls educated as thoroughly as boys, and who thought themselves victors. But battles for spiritual interests are never quite won—and never quite lost. It is not for us to be discouraged, but as they fought against "the finishing school" of their day, so must we fight against the same idea dressed in modern phrases. In accordance with the age we live in, it substitutes practical courses for elegant accomplishments, dressmaking, cooking, and "applied civics," for literature and the history of art, but it is essentially the same, to provide for our children, so over indulged and over cared for, a way out other than by the path of hard work.

"Before the gates of excellence the high gods have placed sweat. Long is the road thereto and steep and rough at the first, but when the height is achieved then is there ease."

Not yet has the road grown shorter or smoother or less steep.

EDITH HAMILTON.

The Reply

MISS HAMILTON'S paper is significant in its evidence of the preconception which is behind so much of the current allegiance to the "old" education of discipline and the drudgery. When she says "school" she has in the back of her mind an institution for the training of the well-to-do classes, and it is for them that she makes her educational philosophy plausible. Accepting present class divisions, she seems to oppose the "new" education because it is prejudicial to the life which she accepts as worthiest for the fortunate classes with whom she is best acquainted. Her argument is that life will make no stern demands upon the sheltered, economically endowed leisure which most of her girls will enjoy. Without external standards, their fibre must deteriorate unless they have learned the joy of work by the doing of things because they are hard. Without impersonal intellectual interests, their personal energy will waste away in futility or in meddlesome control of their own daughters. The boy will be harnessed into some kind of self-discipline by the exigencies of business life. But for the girl, the substitution in the modern school of domestic science for "elegant accomplishments" is only an illusory discipline. These arts of housekeeping are not only easy, but will not be demanded from the upper-class girl. Only the traditional curriculum, impersonal, cultural, laborious, will give her the needed stimulus to play her leisured rôle worthily.

At first sight nothing could be more ironic than this gospel of strenuous effort preached in the name of a sheltered and privileged class. It seems to give the case of the "old" education away. Why should a girl be disciplined, trained to do things "*because* they are hard," for a life which becomes "easier and easier," unless her teachers wished to provide her with a moral and intellectual justification of her social rôle? In the light of the newer demands, the "old" education seems to combine uselessness and effort, and it is just this combination which would maintain leisure-class functions and yet make the individuals feel morally justified. It is a little curious to find Miss Hamilton using the "utilitarian" argument against domestic science. The fact that the "select" private boys' schools are beginning to introduce carpentry shops does not seem to affect her conviction that the select and private girl should not come into touch with feminine manual work. Yet she wishes her girls to acquire "impersonal, intellectual interests," which they can never use except in not very real "cultural" dabblings and social work.

Although Miss Hamilton's social preconception is so bound up with her educational theory, she implies for the latter a wider bearing, and takes issue with Mr. Flexner's "Modern School," and with Mr. Bourne's "Self-Conscious School." She implies that the "old education is superior to any training which makes interest not discipline, efficiency not knowledge" the standard. Now the point at issue between interest and discipline has been so thoroughly discussed by John Dewey in his "Interest as Related to Will" and other writings, that one is surprised at this late day to find responsible educators willing to give the impression that they are unacquainted with Dewey's arguments. Even if disciples like Mr. Flexner and Mr. Bourne may, in their enthusiasm, unconsciously caricature him, the underlying philosophy is there in its classic form for all to read. The curious notion that interest makes work "easy," instead of intensifying the effort,

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is only possible, of course, to minds persistently soaked in a Puritan tradition. Dewey shows that interest and discipline are not antagonistic to efficiency and knowledge, but that knowledge is merely information effectively used and manipulated, and discipline is willed and focussed interest. Each has an element of the other and it is meaningless to talk of interest vs. discipline when any real interest has an organizing effect on one's activity and any real discipline is built up on a foundation of interest. Indeed, in the very article to which Miss Hamilton takes exception, Mr. Bourne defines discipline as "willed skill," which is as far from any conception of "making things easy," of "smattering and superficiality," as could well be imagined. It is a superstition, of course, to suppose that all children burn with a hard gem-like flame of curiosity to know, but it is equally a superstition that with all children strenuous drudgery flowers into the immense joy of work and creation, or that effort taken consistently against the grain of interest can suddenly be transmuted into spontaneous labor. A certain habit, a mechanical routine spirit, may be evolved in this way, but not imaginative skill. Any true discipline comes from an overcoming of obstacles beyond which one is conscious of a goal in itself worth while. It is only a feeble spirit that can be drugged by effort in and for itself. In those admirable cases where facility comes after conscientious but uninteresting effort, let the old-fashioned educator ask herself whether the child gained the satisfaction of accomplishment *because* he went through the discipline, or whether he was willing to go through the drudgery *because* his temperament liked the satisfaction of accomplishment. If you admit the latter, then you have admitted the case of the new education. Temperaments, impulses, interests—or, if you like, in the feeble, the *lack* of impulses and interests—will insist on dominating, on determining the way each child takes his experience. All education can do is to provide experience, stimulate, guide, organize interests. Anything else may produce, at its best, a trained animal. It will never produce men and women.

To provide this general experience and stimulation is the task of the democratic school. Miss Hamilton's paper shows that such a school would be a challenge to the kind of institution she has in mind when she speaks of education. When leisure-class functions and education clasp in a perfect circle, a new sociological and industrial emphasis in education might make the leisure-class pupils restless, uneasy, questioning. If you began emphasizing interest instead of drudgery, you might be calling into question the sincerity of those "impersonal intellectual interests." If you emphasized efficiency instead of knowledge, you might make uncomfortably evident the unreality of much of what passes for culture in society to-day. You would be making insecure the moral and intellectual justifications of caste. But it is exactly this critical work which a democratic education is in part designed to stimulate.

The "new" educators are seeking a type of school which shall provide for all classes, which shall not emphasize class lines. They want a school which creates a common sympathy, a common intimacy with the various activities and expressions of the modern well rounded personality, just so far as each individual is capable, with his endowments and intelligence, of acquiring such an intimacy. The "modern school" would turn the child's attention to the processes, objects, projects, facts, of the active world about him, simply because these are the common stock of all classes. The development of communal functions and services forces every family more or less into touch with this active world out of which the "modern school's" curriculum grows. It is in the study of these "real things" rather than in the logical systems of text-books, the predigested ideals of literature or a class, the technical manipulation of dead languages or official science, that common interest and the sense of common possession will arise. The expectation is that interpretations and ideals growing out of such a study will be more vital and sound, because they will have come out of the child's own experience, and not have been merely shoveled into his memory. It is expected that the "strenuous effort" of the past, which was so much an effort of memory and mechanical routine, will become, in a curriculum, harnessed to occupational life, an effort of interest and intelligent enthusiasm. Out of such a spirit should issue the self-sustained discipline by which all good work is done in the world.

At the Capitol

WHEN Congress convened on the fourth of December the President pared down the administration program in the hope of actually getting something accomplished during the short session. He referred specifically to five bills, urged their immediate enactment and declared that "even delay would seriously jeopardize the interests of the country." But in spite of his effort to concentrate and confine the activities of Congress, and though the present session has but three more weeks to run, only one of these measures—the vocational education bill—has even come up for a vote. Two of them, in fact, have never been reported out of committee. These are the Webb bill, permitting greater freedom of combination in foreign trade, and the Newlands bill, embodying the President's railway legislation. From this latter measure the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce recently dropped the provision for compulsory investigation before strikes and lock-outs. It substituted no alternative, however, and due to the illness of its chairman has been marking time for the last two weeks. The other administration measures are the Porto Rican citizenship bill, which has never been voted upon, and the Corrupt Practices bill, which on one occasion narrowly escaped a vote, when it momentarily became the unfinished business of the Senate. It gyrated back to its committee, however, and has not been heard from on the floor of the Senate for the last eight weeks.

The collapse of the President's legislative program cannot be explained by any general opposition existing outside of Congress, for, with the exception of the compulsory investigation proviso in the railway bill and certain clauses in the Porto Rican measure, it has had the support of the press and at least the ordinary neutrality of the public. In the case of the railway legislation a special condition has obtained which is partly responsible for the failure to take action: in addition to the standing committees in both houses a joint committee with wide powers of investigation has existed. The tendency has accordingly been to place the responsibility for an unpopular measure in the hands of the body from which no immediate report was expected—an inclination made logical by the fact that the life of the joint committee was recently extended for another year. But the divided authority thereby established did not apply to the rest of the administration program, and it is to more general conditions that its failure is due.

The first factor is that the President's influence over Congress, at least in matters of ordinary domestic legislation, is no longer backed by the still greater influence of

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party safety. Before the election the necessity of strengthening the President's position kept the Democratic members of Congress in practically unanimous support of anything he directly or indirectly indorsed. A good many Democrats who, if left to their own devices, would have favored a display of caution, voted to table the McLemore resolution; a good many who had conscientious scruples against upholding a treaty which did not give this country the best of the bargain supported the President in his fight for a repeal of the Panama free-tolls provision. But during the present session the need for advertised party cohesion has been less pressing. The result has already been indicated on several roll-calls. One month after the election the Senate passed the immigration bill, with only four Democrats voting against it, although the President had placed himself on record as opposing its principal features. When he returned the bill with a veto, both houses passed it with more than the necessary two-thirds majority, and with more Democrats voting to override the veto than Republicans. Lack of party support was also responsible for the action of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce in dropping the compulsory investigation proviso from the railway bill. Had it not been for the desertion of three Democratic members, a clause on which Mr. Wilson had set great store would have been retained, and at least reported to the Senate. These incidents are indicative because they involve issues in which the President had taken a declared position, and the weakening party support which they reflect explains in a large degree the failure of the administration program to make headway. Mr. Wilson's slipping grasp on his Democratic Congress is the ordinary legacy of a reëlected President, but, so far at least as domestic matters go, it is a condition upon which he will have to count more and more in the future.

Even without this decline in executive influence the character of a short session is such as to block almost any constructive program. The short session always comes after a new Congress has been elected and responsibility thereby placed at a minimum. Members defeated for reelection are concerned principally with salvaging as much as possible before the deluge; those who have been successful are at the farthest possible distance from another election. The session is accordingly devoted mainly to the passage of appropriation bills, both those which are necessary for the expenses of government and those which cover—as completely as possible—the various promises of local patronage that were made during the campaign period. Up to the present time the House has passed ten appropriation bills, including a $32,000,000 public buildings bill and a $38,000,000 rivers and harbors bill. All this has taken time. Representative Lenroot tried to call the attention of the House to its wasted opportunities when, referring to the numerous important public matters pending, he said:

> "Those bills must wait, and in all probability never will be considered at this session at all, in order that the membership of this House, not treating this question as a national question, not looking at these things from the standpoint of the national good, may be able to go home on the 4th of March and say to their constituents, 'I got so much money out of the National Treasury for a public building in my district.'"

If any further explanation for the failure of the administration program is needed, it is to be found in the numerous non-legislative matters to which a large part of the present session has been devoted. The House investigation of the "peace leak" soon became so entertaining a procedure that members flocked to its sessions and little was accomplished until interest in it waned. It was instituted on the grounds that a betrayal of confidence, at first supposedly on the part of government officials, but now apparently by non-officials, had resulted in the turn-over of several millions of dollars. What happened was that while this sum was occupying the attention of most of the members, the post-office appropriation bill—involving a turn-over of three hundred and thirty million dollars—was being left to the consideration of the handful of members who weren't running down the leak. About the same time the Senate devoted practically three days to an acrimonious debate as to whether the President's peace note to the belligerents deserved an indorsement it was never intended to elicit, and, later on, three more days to a detailed attack on a peace league mechanism which had never been proposed. It is possible that other Congresses have wasted more time than the present Congress, but none, perhaps, has done it more boisterously.

Should the development of the foreign situation demand the entire attention of Congress there will be reason enough for the neglect of other matters during the remainder of the present session. But the record thus far, for four-fifths of the session, shows little foresight, a great deal of apathy, and more than the usual willingness to be diverted away from the business of legislation.

C. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

SIR: In a recent issue you conclude an editorial on the direct primary with the sentence:

> "Direct primaries are mostly a failure, but they should remain until political lawgivers are prepared to substitute something better for them."

May I suggest that something which experience has proved to be better is already available and will be given us by the political lawgivers as soon as enough voters demand it? I refer to the preferential ballot. Perhaps a better name for this would be the automatic fusion ballot. This form of ballot has now been adopted by eight out of the thirty largest cities in the United States and by a considerable number of smaller ones. No city which has tried it has voluntarily given it up.

Among the advantages of the preferential ballot are the following:

> The substitution of one election for two saves time for the voter, money for the city, and both time and money for the candidates.
>
> The importance of securing the second choice votes of adherents of his opponents makes a candidate more careful to avoid mud-slinging.
>
> It diminishes the power of the professional politician, one of whose trumps in the past has been to split the opposition.
>
> The voter who votes his first choice for tradition or the friend of his friend will vote his second choice for the city.
>
> All the foregoing make it easier to get high-grade men to become candidates for public office.

CHARLES H. PORTER.

Waban, Massachusetts.

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Books and Things

SOMEWHERE in his letters Edward FitzGerald tells somebody about an April morning at Beccles. "Here I live with tolerable content," he writes, "perhaps with as much as most people arrive at, and what if one were properly grateful one would perhaps call perfect happiness. Here is a glorious sunshiny day: all the morning I read about Nero in Tacitus lying at full length on a bench in the garden: a nightingale singing, and some red anemones eyeing the sun manfully not far off. A funny mixture all this: Nero, and the delicacy of Spring: all very human however." There, I said to myself when I first read these words, there is my idea of an educated man—an idea which reality will never satisfy. Years came and did the usual things and went, all without disappointing my prophetic fears. My acquaintance widened. It embraced trained specialists and masters of transportation and artists and doctors of philosophy, and even a doctor or so of sacred theology, but never a man who wore his education with FitzGerald's unconcern. Middle age approached without weakening my conviction that I should never meet an educated man.

And then, on a sudden, with no warning, I met an educated man. The place was a doctor's waiting room. The time I cannot fix, although I infer, from my distinct recollection that a magazine I had found on the table was dated March, 1909, that the occasion could not have been earlier than 1911. The only other patient in the room was not dependent upon magazines; he was reading a book, and took no notice of my entrance. Five minutes may have passed before he begun to read aloud, abruptly:

> iamque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator
> crebrius, incassum manuum cecidisse labores.

Guessing that I did not at once understand he proceeded to translate: "And now the aged plowman shaking his head sighs ever and again that the toil of his hands has perished all for naught." He paused, shaking his own head ever so slightly, and then exclaimed: "But what's the use of trying to translate it? What, as Santayana has said—of these very lines, if I'm not mistaken—'what conglomerate plebeian speech of our time could utter the stately grandeur of these Lucretian words, every one of which is noble, and wears the toga?'" He was summoned at this moment, and disappeared into the doctor's office, leaving me amazed. Lucretius in an ante-room, I thought, instead of Tacitus in a garden.

Thus were the foundations laid of my friendship with Jeremiah Bates, a man whose varied and living accomplishments were deemed remarkable by all who knew him at all well. Inferior though he was to FitzGerald in the arts of familiar composition and of making paraphrases from ancient languages, he was yet perhaps as delighted a reader of old books in the original. Nor was literature his predominant interest. I shall never forget the week in which he did his best, in the free hours of a fishing trip, to introduce me to the theory of the Newtonian potential function. And I happen to know that he once spent a full month of convalescence upon an attempt to interest his wife in the distribution of primes. Physicians attributed her subsequent breakdown to the labors and vigils of nursing him, but the true cause was as I have stated it. Poor Louisa! what wouldn't she give now for a return of those happier hours, so little appreciated at the time, which were hers before his peculiar malady had afflicted Jeremiah Bates! Only yesterday she confided to me, with tears brimming her sad eyes, that she had by dint of much coaxing got Jeremiah to try this simple problem: "Two trains A and B leave P for Q at the same time as two trains C and D leave Q for P. A passes C 120 miles from P, and D 140 miles from P. B passes C 126 miles from Q, and D half way between P and Q. Find the distance from P to Q." Bates worked at this for twenty-three minutes, and even then he didn't get the right answer. So I was not surprised, upon his coming in a little later at the blank look he gave me when I steered the talk toward Sturm's theorem.

Look almost anywhere you please for signs of Jeremiah Bates's good education, and your eye encounters nothing but the same melancholy decay. I recall the relish with which he described, only a couple of years ago, how a resolve to find a specimen of the Hoy shrew had led him on and on, by insensible gradations, until at last he found himself making, in the leisure of his country place, a somewhat protracted study of the premolars of the Urotrichus (Neurotrichus) gibbsi of North America. Naturally I hoped, and in this Louisa was with me, that some sparks of this old interest remained, and might still be blown into a glow; yet the other day, when I happened to let fall a reference to the Hoy shrew, I was shocked to learn that he had forgotten the distinction between a shrew-mouse and a shrew-mole. Even as it has been with the lover of nature, so has it been with the lover of art. "Fantin-Latour," he said once in the old days, before his decline had begun, "Fantin-Latour could never have been a popular portrait painter. His portraits had too fine an inner harmony, they were too expressive, his faces look at life through too meditative eyes. Perhaps it's all right. Had he painted too many portraits he wouldn't have been so free to go his own silent way, evoking his figures in space, transposing pictorially the lyric dramas and the symphonies of the masters he loved so well." Nothing wonderful, to be sure, but how much better than Bates can do to-day, when he never looks at a picture unless he has some thought of buying it.

For his capacity to gain money, his mastery of his business, his competence in practical things—these remain. His accomplishments have fallen off one by one, his education has dropped from level to lower level, all but one or two of his humaner interests have faded. How far will the process go? Will Jeremiah wholly lose his mind? The doctors, so Louisa tells me, say there is no danger of that. As the wind blows upon a dry and seed-crowned dandelion, and blows away seed after seed, yet a few cling so desperately that the wind cannot detach them, not for all its blowing; as a man grows bald and balder, yet lays his head at last in the grave with still a little hair; so Jeremiah Bates will keep, until death parts him and them, such odds and ends of an education as he now possesses. The doctors are quite confident that the process of his mental decay has been arrested. He will perhaps always be able to make out a sentence or two in Cæsar. Two or three lines of Virgil will always stick in his memory. But he will never again read Lucretius, for fun, in a doctor's waiting-room. He will remind nobody, as he once reminded me, of that passage "somewhere" in FitzGerald. Little by little Bates has dwindled from an educated man into an average college graduate.

P. L.

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Mrs. Wharton's Art

Xingu, and other stories, by Edith Wharton. New York: C. Scribner's Sons. $1.40.

MRS. WHARTON comes very near affording complete gratification with this volume of short stories. She takes her subjects as only an artist can take them, for the values, the resonances, they happen to have for her; and the fact that she writes mainly of a restricted class seems at the moment irrelevant. It would be really irrelevant if Mrs. Wharton didn't, in a subtle enough way, become condescending to persons who live on, and off, the fringe. Sometimes as between a perfectly initiated pet and a bounding newcomer one gets a whiff of sublimated sensibilities. Of such assaulted class consciousness as this sort of thing implies, Mrs. Wharton occasionally gives signs. Among the petty bourgeoisie she moves with comparative sympathy. Among more formidable representatives of the same ilk she moves with something not unlike a sniff. She is difficult to please, but the difficulty is not always due to intrinsic considerations. For a person of such lancing intelligence she is strangely deficient in comedy. It is not that one wants her to have a richer palette or a more dashing line. It is not that one wishes her to burst on the world exuberantly, with a barbaric yawp. It is merely that with a higher sense of comedy other realities would emerge in her landscape which, under the light that is habitual with her, is somewhat acid, cold and bleak.

But astringent as one may deem Mrs. Wharton's mood, it would be absurd to miss her deep excellences on that account. There are many manifestations of America for which she has not the faculty, but those that peculiarly arrest her, those that depend on being of the feminine gender among well-off people in a given time and sphere, extract from her the sort of appreciation that amounts to genius. The fate that she has most absorbingly contemplated and most handsomely represented is perhaps that of persons whose lot is enhanced by money or family or taste, and whose impulses pay reluctant toll to an order in whose establishment their happiness and their honor are involved. It is, if you like, worldly wisdom that here occupies Mrs. Wharton; it happens, however, to be wisdom. Congruous as she is with *Scribner's Magazine,* incongruous with the Walt Whitmans, she is still the intent observer of nature adaptive and assertive, of pliancies and subjections, desertions and rebellions. In some respects she is a pharmacist in her handling of vital forces. She deals in essences and double distillations. She uses a delicate measure to weigh out what is precious or deadly. She dispenses little that she regards as lethal or valuable outside what would fit in an apothecary scales. She is grave, minute, scrupulous, analytic. She is dramatic hypodermically. But to such fine uses does she put the sympathies and perceptions with which she is endowed, that a reader would be strangely callous who was not lost in admiration among the merits of her art.

Take as perhaps the best example in this volume the tale called "The Long Run." It is a favorite theme of Mrs. Wharton's, the drama of a love that is not coincident with marriage. In this case, as indeed in most of the stories in "Xingu," Mrs. Wharton is seeing these things in retrospect, not as matters of palpitation so much as matters of eventual chemistry. The man in this instance harks back to his hour of decision, the hour when everything depended on the driving force of his impulse as against her husband's preëmption. She is willing to go out with her lover, she has no sense of having been preëmpted. She knows that to her husband she is furniture, that there are no "reasons—honest reasons—for staying there." This woman at the lift of the flashing sunny wave can invite her lover to it. "The first great anatomist was the man who stuck his knife in a heart that was beating; and the only way to find out what doing a thing will be like is to do it!" The male in the man, orthodox in possessiveness, refuses. She cannot swim, he sees it, except in the lifebelt of matrimony. And what that decision came to, in the perspective of his own resignation and her later re-marriage, is the story Mrs. Wharton beautifully and sympathetically contrives. They are not people seen in the various successive attitudes of a morality, registering this and that. They are people whose morality is in solution, never labeled for that particular brand of interest by Mrs. Wharton herself. She has no intention for them save to reveal them, to give them in their own "flood of joy that comes of heightened emotion," their own persuasions as to life, and the price it cost them to have had him incapable of crossing a stream that had no bridge. A story like this is the flower of a career.

Permeated with equal sympathy, rather a dejected and vengeful sympathy, is "Bunner Sisters," a fascinating novelette of two middle-aged tradeswomen in old New York. The odor of condescension does not, for me, cling to this example of Mrs. Wharton's studies in a sphere not excitingly fashionable. There are inflections she catches with sharp exactness. There is no attempt to make Ann Eliza and Evelina seem less like morons than

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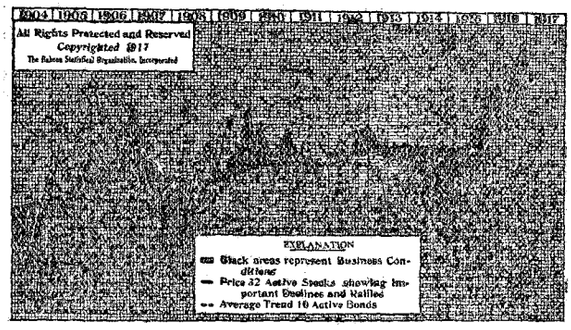
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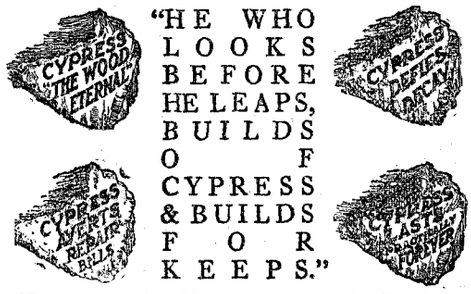

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they really were. But the story has an almost affectionate completeness of detail and a totally affectionate occupation with both Ann Eliza and Evelina in the bitter-sweet of their intimacy with the fated Mr. Ramy. The Bunners do not come off very well, defenseless in a fight so manifold and so complicated as life; but they are not exceptional. In not one of Mrs. Wharton's eight stories does any one come off particularly well, except of course the potential murderer in "Triumph of Night" and the brute-husband in "The Choice."

"Xingu" is perhaps the cleverest of these stories. It is also the least valuably perceptive. A satire on the excessive seriousness, the pretentiousness, the false zealotry of a small American "culture" club, it goes rather too far in an acrimonious caricature of the women as human beings. Mrs. Wharton's acid bites fairly into their idiocy as the pursuers of culture, it scarifies them too deeply in their social character. The Laura Glyde and Mrs. Plinth and Mrs. Leveret of real life would be equally insufferable about books, but Mrs. Wharton's cold dislike for their natures is quite unjustified. It is in dealing with such women as these, women who if anything would err on the side of amiability and whose main mistake is to take too seriously the obligations imposed on them by a culture not native, that Mrs. Wharton becomes frigidly conventional. Her Mrs. Plinths and Mrs. Leverets are misjudged from the vantage point of Lenox or Tuxedo, or wherever it is that women do not allow even their illiteracy to detract from their self-confidence.

Despite "Bunner Sisters," it would be egregious loyalty to Mrs. Wharton as an artist not to admit that she is primarily a person interested in a restricted world. She has an ear for the clash and chime of life outside Lenox and those other places where ministers of grace draw your bath and steal about, exaggerating your wardrobe, while you pretend to be asleep. Her story of wartime in the Vosges and the German intrusion on a château there indicates that. But it is not too much to say that she tends to start with men of means and women who use those means to their ends. One has only to glance at her personæ—Horace Pursh, Halston Merrick, Susy Suffern, Harriet Fresbie, Wilbour Barkley, Austin Wrayford, Cobham Stilling, Philip Trant, Mrs. Lidcote, Mrs. Lorin Boulger, H. Macy Greer, Franklin Ide, Jim Cumnor. These are not the kind of people with whom you share cracker-jack in a day-coach. These are not the lads and lasses who put skids under William H. Taft in 1912, abandoned themselves to "Onward Christian Soldiers," at Chicago, and helped Mr. Roosevelt to be a traitor to his class. Rather the contrary. But on the Atlantic seaboard, using the Alleghenies as a sort of privet hedge, Mrs. Wharton holds these persons in preference—out of proportion to their constituency in society as a whole though not by any means out of proportion to their interest. For their interest, as Mrs. Wharton considers them, is not a fatuous fashionableness. It is the chance they offer for intensive human relations, those relations that include love, but also so often preclude it, and always pivoting on marriage. Marriage and love are the great factors in the drama Mrs. Wharton concentrates upon. Of these the greater, in the frankly middle-aged stories in "Xingu," is neither one nor the other automatically; she is cool enough to say that the cost of love may be too heavy, and warm enough to have its balance sheet her main preoccupation. It is this absorption in the delicate processes, the feminized processes, which decide where the bemedaled warriors shall dine, and whom sit next to, and

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whom take to wife and whom to bed, that has kept her up-town and socially excited. The quality of that excitement is the principal charm of "Xingu," an achievement that no other American is emulating.

F. H.

On Permanent Peace

The Possible Peace. By Roland Hugins. New York: The Century Co. $1.25.

THE "possible peace" for which Mr. Hugins bespeaks attention has nothing to do with the formal peace that will conclude the European war. It is with the more fundamental problem of a permanent world peace that the author is concerned. He is not one of those enthusiasts who see in the present war a clear-cut struggle between good and evil. Accordingly he rejects utterly the notion that the victory of either side will end war. The road to a permanent peace is a longer one.

The European war has unmasked the nations. It has exposed, in each of the great Powers, a dominant clique of politicians and soldiers bent upon advancing an assumed national advantage, and contemplating forcible conquest as a legitimate method of aggrandizement. In respect of unscrupulous imperialism, there is nothing to distinguish between the policies of the Central Empires and those of the Allied Powers. Cleavage on the lines of good and evil runs not between the nations, but between elements in each nation. There was a pacific Germany and a militaristic Germany; so there was an illiberal, imperialistic England as well as a better England. The problem of peace involves the accession to power of the liberal elements, the renunciation of competitive imperialism, the democratization of foreign policy. Among the great Powers, the United States alone has attained to the level of humanity upon which international peace might be securely based. There may be hope for better international relations in a properly constituted League of Peace, but even this cannot be certainly relied upon so long as governments retain their prevailing militaristic characteristics.

The author develops his theses with candor and intelligence. The book is not exactly inspiriting, but it is wholesome reading in an epoch in which partisan interpretations and pragmatic conclusions make up the bulk of the literature on international affairs.

Sociological Observations on the War

The Psychology of the Great War, by Gustave Le Bon. New York: The Macmillan Co. $3.00.

WHAT Gustave Le Bon writes is always worth reading. No man living knows more about the facts of social psychology, or builds more plausible hypotheses when facts are wanting. The great war, in its origin, in its methods, in its effects, affords a prodigious amount of material for sociological interpretation. The German worship of might and conviction of the superiority of German Kultur, the regeneration of French militarism, the irredentist dreams of Italy and the Balkan States, the expansionist ambitions of Russia, British imperialism, represent complex social phenomena intensely interesting in themselves, and bearing immediately upon the origin of the war. There is much worthy of painstaking analysis in the doc-

Dr. Johnson's Essay on American Politics

Last evening Dr. Goldsmith and I called upon the great man with the hope of prevailing on him to sup with us at the Mitre. We found him deeply engaged on an essay on the political crisis in America, and so engrossed that he could talk to us of nothing else.

"Come then" (said Goldsmith), "we will not go to the Mitre to-night, since we cannot have the big man with us." Johnson then called for a bottle of port, of which Goldsmith and I partook, while our friend, now a water-drinker, sat by us.

"I wonder, Dr. Johnson" (said Goldsmith), "that you come to write of American affairs when there is so much to write of in England."

Johnson. "Sir, you *may* wonder. But I find it a relaxation from the strain here. I promised this for the *Rambler*, and while I was at first loath to undertake it, I am now pleasantly interested."

Goldsmith. "But what information have you in regard to the States other than that we all have?"

Johnson. "Here, as often before, I refer you to the best informants possible." With that he took up the uppermost book on the pile. "Here you have a book on 'The President's Cabinet,'[1] by a man who has written whereof he had studied."

Boswell. "But, Sir, will you not tell us how that touches upon the present?"

Johnson. "Upon the fourth of March, to be exact, the President will have opportunity to appoint a new cabinet. I have looked to find in Mr. Learned's book information regarding the power of this body."

Boswell. "And, Sir, did you find it there?"

Johnson. "Yes, and ably set forth. I refer you to it and to 'The Department of State.'[2] That portfolio will play a leading rôle in this crisis, and I have been reading the account of it by Gaillard Hunt, especially his several chapters on Foreign Affairs, Treaties, and the Diplomatic Service."

Goldsmith. "And why have you these three vast tomes of Records of the Federal Convention?"[3]

Johnson. "Everything in the States' government goes back to the Constitution, and if I would make my argument stand, I must rest it upon that. I have gained valuable facts from that account of its origin entitled 'The Framing of the Constitution'[4] and from the exact record of the proceedings which those three volumes contain."

Boswell. "And when is the *Rambler* to contain this article?"

Johnson. "The *Rambler* will not contain it. The publisher required the manuscript by noon, but I had found so much to interest me in my reading that I was not able to give him one written word. Whereupon he became indignant and went off to write himself such an article as he wished."

[1] THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET. By Henry Barrett Learned. $2.50.

[2] THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES. By Gaillard Hunt. $2.25.

[3] THE RECORDS OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1787. Edited by Max Farrand. 3 vols. $15.00.

[4] THE FRAMING OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. By Max Farrand. $2.00.

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Andrew D. White says, in a letter to the author:

"I have read your book, 'The Possible Peace,' with interest. It impresses me as vigorous and pungent, clear in thought and effective in style. There are passages in it to which I could not give my full consent, but, on the whole, I think you have presented the various aspects of the case remarkably well."

THE POSSIBLE PEACE

By ROLAND HUGINS

Of the Department of Economics at Cornell University

THE NEW YORK TIMES SAYS:

"Mr. Hugins . . . scans the causes of the war in order to find out from them how to proceed toward the prevention of future wars. His volume is one of the sanest that the war has produced and deserves to rank for its calm, judicial temper, its loyalty to truth, and its illuminative thought with G. Lowes Dickinson's "European Anarchy" and Fried's "Restoration of Europe." . . . So clear and fair and free from all prejudice is Mr. Hugins's marshaling of the facts of recent history and so strictly just his interpretation that his book, along with that by Mr. Dickinson—for the two admirably supplement each other—ought to be put on the supplementary reading courses of modern history classics in universities and colleges. And if there were such a thing as compulsory reading . . . the Eastern seaboard of this country . . . could not have a more wholesome dose of it than this book would give them.

"In his foreword Mr. Hugins recognizes it as a misfortune that American opinion in this war has succumbed so completely to Old World prejudices that it is unable to take any point of view that is not influenced by them. He fears that this superficiality of thinking may entail grave consequences for us, because if we cannot with knowledge and sanity interpret world politics we cannot formulate a wise foreign policy. His aim is to throw light on the course, above ground and below, of European politics during recent years, to show how the war has been the direct outcome of the policies that were shared in by all the European nations, and to read therein a lesson for the United States to hold itself aloof from imperialism, national aggression, and enrichment at the expense of other nations, entanglement in the politics of the Old World with their jealousies, intrigues, and coalitions to preserve the balance of power. In all his exposition and argument Mr. Hugins hews to the line of what he believes to be the truth, regardless of whether the chips fall on the United States, France, Germany, Russia, England, pacifists, militarists, jingoists, dollar diplomacy, or whatever. He does not shrink even when they rain upon himself and his one-time convictions and activities. And he is so evidently sincere and earnest and single-eyed for the truth that it would be an abnormally tender sensibility or inflated egotism that would be offended by his arguments and conclusions."

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trine of "frightfulness," in the official misrepresentation of enemy character and enemy aims, in the suppression and distortion of facts pertaining to military events. Most significant of all are the qualities evoked in the soldiery and the civil population under the stress of the greatest calamity of the world's history. All these topics and many more are discussed in Le Bon's book. If the author could have written with scientific impartiality, he would have produced the most important rational work on the war that has yet appeared.

Scientific impartiality, however, is not to be expected from a patriot whose country is agonizing under invasion. Perhaps Le Bon is thinking of himself when he writes: "No one can affirm that he is completely free from the influence of mysticism, for even those whose intellects are the clearest are not certain of escape from it when the equilibria of their mental life are overthrown by turmoil and confusion. They become utterly changed, lose all idea of reality, and the rational logic in them breaks down." At all events, Le Bon's view of Germany, the baleful monster, and of France, champion of light and liberty, is purely mystical. The scientific value of the first third of the book is sadly impaired by mystical contamination of rational conceptions. The German is a brute, produced by utter subjection to a state that conceives as its mission the regeneration of the world through universal domination. Or better, the German is the same kind of brute he has always been. "Velleius Paterculus wrote at the beginning of the Christian Era: 'The German character is an appalling mixture of cruelty and knavery. They are a people born for lying.'" Frederick Barbarossa gouged out eyes, cut off hands and flayed men alive. Wellington regarded his German auxiliaries as the most abandoned of knaves. Le Bon, momentarily oblivious of the origin of the English, regrets that the Romans did not altogether exterminate the vile race.

After venting his patriotic detestation of Germany and everything German, Le Bon turns to a study of the immediate causes of the war. Here the candor of the scientist reasserts itself. "Until I had made a careful study of the documents I shared the belief of most people in France that Germany was looking for an excuse to make war upon us, and had taken advantage of the first opportunity. . . . As I studied the documents with more care, a light dawned upon my mind, and I came to the conclusion that although Germany had made war inevitable by the continual augmentation of her armaments and by the increasing arrogance of her diplomacy, nevertheless she had no desire whatever for a conflict at the time when it actually occurred. . . . For a long time I believed that I was the only person in France who held this opinion. But the evidence of the documents has finally persuaded some others who have studied it."

In short, Germany was playing for prestige. She was convinced that Russia and France would back down, unless supported by England, and she did not believe England would come in. Germany would have yielded, probably, if she had known England would fight. In the eleventh hour, Germany succumbed to a panic of mistrust, believing that her enemies were merely sparring for time to complete their preparations. Hence the distribution of ultimata. Who willed the war? Nobody. But Germany is primarily to blame on account both of her antecedent provocative diplomacy and of her precipitous action.

It was then not a recrudescence of atavistic barbarism, nor a desire to fulfil her fancied destiny as the ruler of the world that impelled Germany to declare war. Germany

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stands convicted of a bullying diplomacy, but in this her sins it is worth remembering are not unique. It is not long since France was forced to yield to a bullying diplomacy on the part of England, in the Fashoda affair. Nor was the diplomacy of France in her relations with Italy over Tunis, or in her direct relations with Morocco, actuated by the Golden Rule. The theory of Germany as monster must therefore be supported by other facts than those relating to the outbreak of the war. But such facts seem to be at hand in sufficient number in the record of Germany's policy of "frightfulness."

The incidents of atrocities adduced by Le Bon may not all be authentic. There is, however, abundant evidence that the German military authorities, at least at the outset of the war, held to the theory that to make war as terrible as possible was to advance the day of victory. This theory was based on bad psychology; instead of breaking the power of resistance of the enemy states it created hatreds destined to cost the Germans dear. With this opinion of Le Bon's almost everyone will agree, even the Germans, who early shifted their justification for "frightfulness" to a reprisals basis. But no very extended acquaintance with the practices of modern states in their dealings with so-called inferior races is necessary to prove that the pernicious doctrine of the utility of atrocities is by no means a German monopoly. Why it appears to have found more general acceptance in Germany than elsewhere social psychology may some day explain. The explanation will not, however, be forthcoming so long as scientists like Le Bon are animated by the passions engendered by this war.

On the basis of his assumptions as to the fundamental German character, Le Bon advances extremely gloomy conclusions respecting the future of Europe. It would be worse for the Allies to patch up a peace than to go on with the struggle. But even to break the power of Germany completely, he believes, would be no solution. To dismember Germany would be vain; the parts would join again as soon as the population had recovered its forces. There would follow a succession of wars and truces, as in the case of the Hundred Years War or the Thirty Years War, ending only with the utter exhaustion of one party or both. There is no hope that the nations of Europe will ever be safe against Germany, since the mystical belief of the Germans in their destiny to rule the world is something that can't be killed. But they will never succeed, for the will to be free on the part of other nations is also something that can't be killed.

With this pessimistic conclusion we should be forced to agree if we accepted the doctrine of the Germans as a race of monsters, bent on subjecting the world to their dominion. Such a doctrine can, of course, lay no claim to scientific validity. It is a by-product of patriotic fervor. Le Bon himself discards the notion of racial differences. Prussia is Slavic as much as Teutonic, and received a huge infusion of French blood two hundred years ago. A mysticism of world hegemony may sway the minds of some Germans, but that the whole people cherish hopes of world dominion is unbelievable. Doubtless most Germans regard theirs as a superior race, but where is a nationality that does not cherish the illusion of superiority? The official German mood of the period from 1870 to 1914 is to be explained partly at least by the memory of the easy victories over Austria and France. The mood that will prevail after the conclusion of the present life or death struggle can certainly not be the same. Will it menace the peace of Europe? Nobody knows.

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OUR output of non-partisan books on the war has been meagre, even in comparison with belligerent countries. English writers have given us fairer interpretations of German policy and Teutonic apologists a clearer history of Great Britain's foreign relations than have many of our accredited spokesmen. Now Mr. Taylor's little book, however frankly amateurish in approach, does suggest that the average American can think about the war without overmuch affection or hostility for either side. It is neutral in the best sense. Yet it necessarily has the defects of such a virtue—while not doctrinaire, "A Conclusive Peace" is a bit too impatient with the muddle of actual passions and hopes, too confident that the essential reasonableness of a harmonized Europe will of itself create harmony. But one genuinely constructive suggestion does emerge. Let the present war's peace conference, when it comes, arrange for regular meetings, the delegates empowered with the same authority they will bring to the long hoped-for round table. If the parleys at the termination of this war are long drawn-out, as there seems every likelihood of their being, then the suggestion of yearly meetings in the future will lose most of its radical flavor. Admirable peace treaties have been often devised in the past and have lasted for considerable periods, in spite of the rigidity of their terms and their lack of allowance for altered circumstances. The trouble has been that always the congresses—like that of Berlin—have disbanded with no arrangement for later meetings. According to Mr. Taylor's view, the institution of a body, practically a European Commerce Commission, may very naturally be the off-shoot of the complicated peace conference of tomorrow. From that, in turn, with the help of an aroused public opinion, may spring the beginnings of a general—and regular—European congress whose function it shall be to remove the sources of friction before they become momentous, rather than to adjudicate issues that have already been permitted to become intolerable. That way lies a humanized Europe. Certainly here is a suggestion not to be sneered at. Nor is the book as a whole inconsiderable, for aside from certain commonplace encomiums on the blessings of universal peace, the rest of the volume is for the most part an attempt to explain and justify the essential practicability of the author's central thesis.

Contributors

to this issue

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